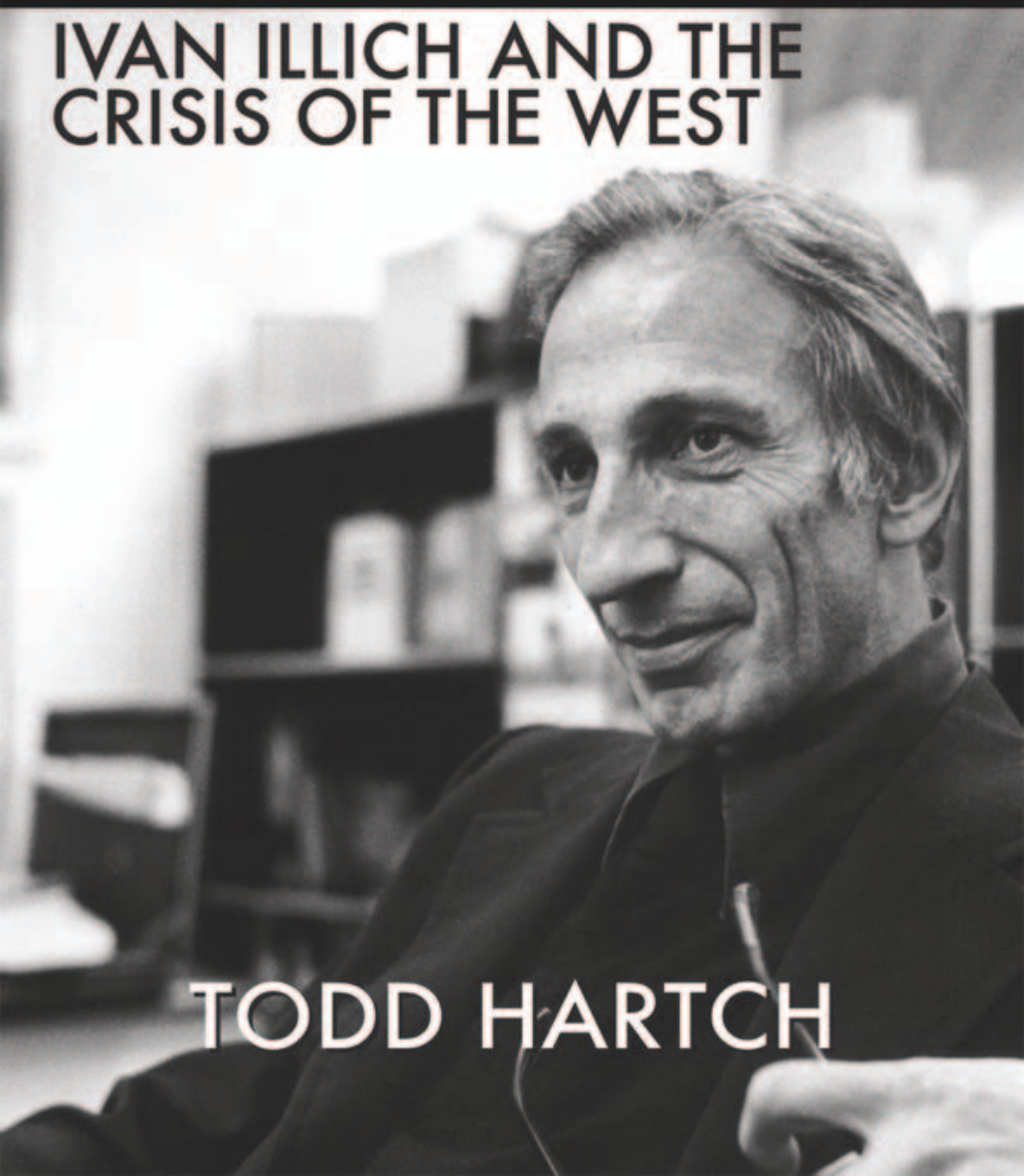
THE PROPHET OF CUERNAVACA

IVAN ILLICH AND THE CRISIS OF THE WEST



TODD HARTCH

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For Peter

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I began the research that resulted in this book. Francine du Plessix Gray went out of her way to help me, giving me a large box that she believed contained notes on her interviews with Illich. Although the box turned out to contain no Illich materials at all, I am still struck by her generosity to a stranger.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AID	Association of International Development
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
CDF	Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith of the Catholic Church
CELAM	Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericana (Latin American bishops' conference)
CENFI	Centro de Formacão Intercultural, Center of Intercultural Formation, Brazilian version of CIF in Petropolis, opened in 1961 under John Vogel
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIC	Centro de Investigaciones Culturales (Cultural Research Center, briefly part of CIF, c. 1965)
CICOP	Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program
CIASP	Conference on Interamerican Student Projects
CIDAL	Centro de Investigaciones para el Desarollo de América Latina (Research Center for Latin American Development, briefly part of CIF, c. 1965)
CIDOC	Centro Intercultural de Documentatión (Intercultural Documentation Center, Ivan Illich's "open university" in Cuernavaca, Mexico; founded in 1963 as part of CIF, it became the dominant institution in 1965)
CIF	Center for Intercultural Formation (Ivan Illich's training center in Cuernavaca, Mexico, for missionaries to Latin America, incorporated March 3, 1961, first course June 19, 1961)

CIP	Centro de Investigaciones Pastorales
CM	Carl Mitcham private collection, Alamo, Colorado
CUA	Catholic University of America
FUL	Fordham University Library
ICLAS	Institute of Contemporary Latin American Studies (part of CIDOC)
IU	Indiana University
ISPLA	Instituto Superior de Pastoral Latino Americano
LAB	Latin America Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference
MMA	Maryknoll Mission Archive
NCCB	National Conference of Catholic Bishops (organization of the bishops of the United States, 1966–2001)
NCWC	National Catholic Welfare Conference (organization of the bishops of United States, 1919–66)
ND	University of Notre Dame
NDJD	John Dearden collection at University of Notre Dame
PAVLA	Papal Volunteers for Latin America
USCC	U.S. Catholic Conference (organization of the bishops of the United States in collaboration with other U.S. Catholics, 1966–2001)
UTC	Urban Training Center (urban ministry center in Chicago run by James Morton)

THE PROPHET OF CUERNAVACA

INTRODUCTION

In April 1968 Ivan Illich spent several hours listening to the experiences of thirty American college students who had returned from volunteer projects in Mexico. The students were part of the Conference on Interamerican Student Projects (CIASP), an organization started by Maryknoll missionaries, and they had invited Illich to their training session at Saint Mary of the Lake Seminary in Illinois. Illich charmed the students with his aristocratic bearing, deep knowledge of Latin America, and evident interest in their service in Mexico.

When Illich began his formal speech, however, his manner changed. "Only radical change," he said, "could possibly justify a decent human being in 1969 continuing his association with CIASP." In fact, he now seemed to view his audience as a collection of complacent hypocrites. "Today," he continued, "the existence of organizations like yours is offensive to Mexico. I wanted to make this statement in order to explain why I feel sick about it all and in order to make you aware that good intentions have not much to do with what we are discussing here. To hell with good intentions."

His point was that good will was not enough, that the students had to evaluate their impact on Mexico. In his mind Americans could not avoid being "vacationing salesmen for the middle-class 'American Way of Life'" because of their "abysmal lack of intuitive delicacy." He wanted the volunteers to know that their way of life was "not alive enough to be shared." Their only impact in Mexico would be the creation of "disorder" because they would be like a white man "preaching to the black slaves on a plantation in Alabama." "It is incredibly unfair," he concluded, "for you to impose yourselves on a village where you are so linguistically deaf and dumb that you

don't even understand what you are doing or what people think of you."[1]

A year later and 1,500 miles to the south, Harvey Cox, a Harvard professor of religion and author of *The Secular City*, was having a very different experience of Illich. Cox loved teaching a course called "Religious and Social Change in Latin and North America" at CIDOC, the Centro Intercultural de Documentación, a think tank and free university that Illich had created in Cuernavaca, Mexico. "It was the most interesting bunch of students I've had in all my years of teaching," Cox said. He was especially impressed by "a very brilliant, very radical French nun who had worked for years in the Mexican slums," "a Panamanian priest also deeply involved in social work," and "a young Maryknoll seminarian from the Middle West who was probably the most radical man I've ever met." Even better, at night, when Cox retired to his room to work on his latest book, Illich would stop by to ask Cox to read his last three sentences; then Illich would make "apt and dazzling" comments and "would conjure historical analogies out of the air, suggest alternative phrasing, pose probing questions."[2]

Both experiences were characteristic of Illich. From 1961 to 1975, he became an increasingly controversial social critic and his base in Cuernavaca, just south of Mexico City, became a pilgrimage site for intellectuals, scholars, missionaries, and students from all over the world. They came to Illich's center to learn Spanish, to attend seminars on topics ranging from education to transportation, and to sit at the feet of Illich, a Roman Catholic priest whose relentless criticism of the Catholic Church and modern Western culture resonated with the revolutionary spirit of the times. After devoting his energies to a missionary training program in the early 1960s, Illich wrote a remarkable series of books in the 1970s that gained him a large audience outside of the Church: *Deschooling Society* (1970), which rejected the modern educational system; *Celebration of Awareness: A Call for Institutional Revolution* (1971); *Tools for Conviviality* (1973); *Energy and Equity* (1974); and *Medical Nemesis* (1976), with its famous opening, "The medical establishment has become a major threat to health."[3] These works were only the tip of the iceberg, for Illich's friends and companions applied his

ideas in dozens, perhaps hundreds of projects, in a host of disciplines. A partial list of those influenced by Illich and CIDOC includes Peter Berger, the eminent sociologist and theorist of secularization; educator Paulo Freire of Brazil; psychoanalyst Erich Fromm; liberation theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez; and Jerry Brown, governor of California.

The Man

In 1956, before Illich was famous, fellow priest Joseph Fitzpatrick had noticed the "amazing potentialities" of John Illich, as he was then known, and speculated that he might soon be "influencing high-level policy on the widest possible scope." But Fitzpatrick also feared for his friend: "He has always impressed me as a man who must work quietly, informally, behind the scenes. I am afraid that, if he were given an official position where his remarks might be interpreted as possible policy, where people would begin to analyze the political implications of what he says, etc., his influence might be seriously hampered . . . John is not the kind of man who moves smoothly. He does things in a way that can easily antagonize people."[4] Fitzpatrick was correct about both the influence and the antagonism, as the next chapter demonstrates.

"He's an extraordinarily intelligent man," said Fitzpatrick in 1969. "He likes to have intelligent people at his side and he finds it difficult to hide his disdain for what he considers stupidity. He's a polyglot genius who speaks nine languages almost without an accent and he's a cosmopolitan who feels at home anywhere in Europe or the Western Hemisphere. He was educated in Rome for a career in the Vatican, so he knows canon law, diplomacy, and church politics perfectly, to the degree that he often makes intelligent clerics feel like children. He devours books and reads more in a night than most people could read in a week. He can be extremely cordial when it's appropriate, but he can also respond with ridicule or, even worse, contempt. He punishes himself with work to the extent that psychiatrists have called him a masochist. In the same way, he punishes those who work with him. If someone, despite good intentions, hinders

the development that he believes is necessary for the Church and if the situation calls for a fight, he thinks that he should always fight. He is, and will always be, a sign of contradiction and a focus of controversy."[5]

Still, at his best, Illich could be an attractive and compelling figure, as writer Francine du Plessix Gray found when she encountered him at his center in Mexico: "Ivan Illich, tall, aquiline, smiling affably, gesticulating with long gangling arms, conversing in five languages at once, walks swiftly through the rooms of CIDOC, an elegant Palladian villa in the flowered hills above Cuernavaca . . . He smiles and throws back his shock of long black hair with a boyish gesture. When smiling, Ivan Illich looks like the young Voltaire: long-faced; beak-nosed; the deep-set brown eyes both gentle and cynical; the mysterious wide mouth curving up in a sarcastic, knowing smile, a little kinder and more ingenuous than Voltaire's."[6]

Ivan Dinko Illich was born in 1926 in Vienna and grew up there and at his grandfather's estate on the island of Brac, off the Adriatic coast of Dalmatia. His father Piero, an aristocratic Croatian, and his mother Ellen, a German from a family of Jewish converts to Catholicism, introduced him to intellectuals such as theologian Jacques Maritain, vitalist Ludwig Klages, poet Rainer Maria Rilke, and esoteric philosopher Rudolf Steiner. During World War II he was classified as a half-Aryan as long as his father was alive, but when his father died he and his family had to flee to Italy. In Florence, Illich finished high school at the Liceo Scientifico Leonardo da Vinci and then studied chemistry and crystallography at the local university, mainly to obtain an identification card under a false name. He also cared for his mother and younger twin brothers and joined the resistance.[7] Because of his fluency in German, he managed to wheedle information from German officers. In one case, he learned of German plans to remove livestock from Italy as they withdrew. He then moved as many cows as possible into the mountains, where they could be hidden and saved. "It wasn't tremendously heroic activity," he said, "but since then I have been rooted on the outside. Resistance came natural. And it stayed natural, developing into resistance against the use of religion in politics, resistance against

education which degrades more people than it privileges, resistance against progress which creates more 'basic needs' than it can possibly satisfy."[8]

In 1944 Illich decided to become a priest, for reasons that remain murky. As a youth he had sung in a church choir and had enjoyed the liturgy "immensely," but there was also something darker, a conviction at the age of twelve on the eve of the Nazi invasion of Austria that Europe was entering a period of profound evil and that he would never "give children" to his grandfather's house. The closest he came to explaining his decision for the priesthood came when he said, speaking generally about celibacy, that the choice came from "the intimate and mysterious experience" of the heart and that such a decision is "as intimate and incommunicable as another's decision to prefer his spouse over all others." On another occasion he said that he did not understand the decision, that it had been "unreasonable" and almost visceral rather than intellectual. Having chosen the priesthood, he went on a long retreat to discern whether he should enter the Society of Jesus, but decided against it.[9]

After the war Illich hoped to return to Austria but lacked the proper papers. His lawyer advised that enrolling at the University of Salzburg would enable him to gain legal residency. Historians Albert Auer, who focused on medieval theologies of suffering, and Michel Muechlin, who conducted the only "educational course" that Illich ever found truly helpful, managed to capture his interest to such an extent that he went on to earn his doctorate in history, writing his dissertation on the global histories of Arnold Toynbee and the problem of knowledge in history. While continuing to work on his doctorate, Illich returned to Italy and prepared for the priesthood by studying philosophy and theology of what he called with affection "the most traditional . . . and obscurantist type" at the Gregorian University in Rome. He lived at the prestigious Colegio Capranica, wrote on theologian Romano Guardini, read the writings of Thomas Aquinas informally with Jacques Maritain, and was ordained in 1951.[10]

After six years studying philosophy and theology in Rome, despite the desire of Cardinal Giovanni Montini (later Pope Paul VI) that he

enter the Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici, which trained intellectually gifted priests for careers as Church diplomats, he decided to become a professor. He came to the United States in 1951 to work with material at Princeton University for a *habilitation* (second doctorate) on Albertus Magnus, but became enthralled with the Puerto Rican community in New York City.[11] He served a largely Puerto Rican parish in New York until becoming the vice-rector of a Catholic university in Ponce, Puerto Rico, in the fall of 1956.

After losing the support of the island's bishops, Illich moved to Cuernavaca, Mexico, where he ran the Center of Intercultural Formation (CIF) as a missionary training center from 1961 to 1966. His 1967 article, "The Seamy Side of Charity," a harsh attack on the American missionary effort in Latin America, and other criticisms of the Catholic Church led to a trial at the Vatican in 1968. Although he was not convicted or punished by the Vatican, he decided to leave the active priesthood and to devote himself to social criticism during the 1970s. As Illich became a more controversial figure, his center evolved into CIDOC (Centro Intercultural de Documentación), a sort of informal university and Spanish school that attracted a diverse group of intellectuals and seekers from around the world. His closing of CIDOC in 1976 came as a shock to many of his friends and collaborators, but he was convinced that it had served its purpose and that it was time to move on before CIDOC became the kind of institution that he had been criticizing for the last decade. He kept a house in Cuernavaca for many years, traveled around the world to give seminars, and eventually settled down among a group of his friends in Bremen, Germany, where he died in 2002.

The Intellectual Milieu

The American Catholic milieu that Illich entered in 1951 was in flux, not only because of the thousands of Puerto Ricans pouring into New York and other parts of the mainland, but also as a result of long-term historical trends. From one perspective, the church of the 1950s was

thriving. After many decades of massive immigration from Ireland, Germany, Italy, and Poland, the rate of new Catholic arrivals in the United States had finally slowed, giving the Catholic community a chance to take stock. Much of what Catholics saw when they looked around was truly impressive. A church of immigrants had built a system of parishes, schools, and religious orders that had few equals in the world. Despite almost constant criticism and some acts of violence—including the burning of a Massachusetts convent in 1834 and a Philadelphia church in 1844—Catholics had created institutions that served their communities from birth to death. Especially in the cities of the Northeast and the Midwest, parish schools, lay organizations such as the Knights of Columbus, and a succession of events in the local parish meant that urban Catholics could spend most of their lives among other Catholics in a culture formed by Catholic traditions, practices, and values.

However, many Catholics called this sort of community a "Catholic ghetto" and pointed to its defensive posture, designed more for protection than influence. They longed for the day when Catholics would participate in the mainstream of American culture and regretted the parochialism and suspicion that they saw in the hierarchy. In the 1950s leading scholars such as John Tracy Ellis of the Catholic University of America and Thomas O'Dea of Fordham University bemoaned the vicious circle that made Catholic intellectuals marginal and ineffective. "Our defensiveness," argued O'Dea, "inhibits the development of a vigorous intellectual tradition," which in turn hindered intellectual achievement and academic prominence. Unrecognized and unappreciated by the larger culture, Catholic intellectuals became resentful and their defensiveness only increased. In the end, O'Dea believed, many who should have become intellectual leaders of the church and contributors to national scholarly dialogue sank instead into "a kind of stultified intellectual lethargy."[12] The vitality and moral clarity of Dorothy Day, leader of the Catholic Worker movement, and the profound spirituality of Thomas Merton, poet and author of the bestselling *The Seven Storey Mountain*, might seem like exceptions to O'Dea's lament, but both Day and Merton were converts. Their confident public expressions of Catholicism were encouraging to American Catholics

and intriguing to non-Catholics, but neither Day nor Merton could be claimed as a product of America's Catholic institutions.[13]

Another seeming exception was the hearty welcome that America gave to Etienne Gilson, Yves Simon, and Jacques Maritain. These French "neo-Thomists" led a revival of the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas that not only revitalized the study of philosophy in Europe and then America, but also applied Thomistic principles to a wide range of political and social issues. Maritain, in particular, seemed able to apply Thomistic thought to virtually any area of human endeavor and wrote books on anti-Semitism, modernity, aesthetics, Descartes, poetry, politics, education, and history, among other topics. Visits to the University of Chicago in 1933 and Notre Dame in 1938, a stay in New York during World War II, and a teaching stint at Princeton University from 1948 until 1953 made Maritain a pivotal figure in the American Catholic intellectual world. His gentle spirit and obvious love for America won over many who might have been intimidated by his high standards and his impassioned critiques of materialism, liberalism, and modernity.

Despite his popularity and sincere welcome at leading secular institutions like the University of Chicago and Princeton, Maritain's thought nevertheless provoked unease among many academics, whether Catholic, Protestant, or agnostic. Those who supported his left-of-center politics rarely accepted his Thomistic rationales, while those who appreciated his return to the "universal doctor" of Catholic philosophy frequently could not accept what Maritain openly called the "revolutionary" political implications of Christian principles.[14] Maritain's confident demonstration of the continued applicability of Catholic thought to the most pressing issues of the day served as an inspiration and an example for a rising generation of Catholic scholars. As a French intellectual, however, he still could stand as evidence for O'Dea's argument. Where were Maritain's American peers?

If they were anywhere, it was in the community of scholars and writers gathered around the journal *The Commonweal,* "the principal organ of the break-out-of-the-ghetto school of thought."[15] Started by layman Michael Williams in 1924, the journal ranged widely, treating

political and social issues from a Catholic perspective but also delving into spirituality and contemporary fiction. The journal published the work of leading American and European thinkers, including Merton, Georges Bernanos, Maritain, Day, W. H. Auden, and Robert Lowell. Opposing "the totalitarian state, dictators and violent revolution, as means or ends," the journal advocated "the priority of human beings over property" and was "unrepentantly personalist."[16] In the pages of the journal, readers could encounter denunciations of segregation, anti-Semitism, and secularism, as well as short stories that examined American life and poems that challenged American pieties. Like many American Catholic scholars and writers, the contributors to *The Commonweal* had a complicated relationship with American politics and American popular culture, sometimes bristling with indignation at American materialism and individualism, at other times seeming overly concerned with the approval of non-Catholic figures, but its great strength was its confidence that Catholic principles could transform America. This was a Catholicism of "engagement rather than withdrawal."[17]

Illich gravitated toward *The Commonweal*'s type of Catholicism. He shared many of its criticisms of American culture, as well as its desire to break free of the Catholic ghetto and its impatience with mediocrity. He was a friend of Maritain, with whom he had studied in Rome; had a close relationship with one of the journal's editors, Anne Fremantle; and knew contributors such as Robert Lowell and Thomas Merton. Illich also had ties to two similar Catholic publications. *Integrity*, created by lay Catholics in 1946 and edited by Illich's friend Dorothy Dohen, sought to bring a *Commonweal* type of Catholicism to a less highbrow audience.[18] Writers such as Day, Merton, Fremantle, and Marion Stancioff made the journal perhaps too cerebral for the audience it was trying to reach, but they provided Illich with the cultivated, cosmopolitan atmosphere that he loved. Fremantle, for example, was an Oxford-educated Catholic convert from a prominent British family who wrote books on topics as diverse as George Eliot, Chairman Mao, medieval philosophy, and papal encyclicals. In a similar vein, Stancioff was the Brazilian-born wife of a Bulgarian aristocrat

who wrote for various Catholic publications and welcomed a stream of European visitors and refugees into her home.[19] Illich also enjoyed the wit of Chicago's *The Critic*, a lay publication that specialized in skewering mediocrity and hypocrisy in the American church. Consequently, since the circle of "Commonweal Catholics" was quite small in comparison to the scope of American Catholicism, the parish priests and (non-Puerto Rican) parishioners whom Illich encountered in New York and the students and missionaries who traveled to Illich's center in Cuernavaca usually had attitudes and outlooks quite different from those of Illich and his closest collaborators. It was not surprising that he found many of them parochial and close-minded, uncritical believers in "the American way of life."

The Latin American Catholic intellectual milieu that Illich entered in the 1950s was, if possible, more traditional and hidebound than that of the United States. After centuries of association with political conservatism and the status quo, in the context of attacks by political liberals who sought to limit the church's power and to confiscate its wealth, much of the hierarchy had become defensive and narrow-minded. As he had done in America, however, Illich sought out the critics and reformers who were trying to imagine innovative ways of being Catholic; the list of his Latin American friends and colleagues includes a large portion of the leading progressive Catholics of the 1950s and 1960s. Even before he settled in Cuernavaca, Illich sought out men such as Manuel Larraín, Helder Camara, Camilo Torres, and Gustavo Gutiérrez. Larraín and Camara, two of the most influential bishops in the region, led the Latin American response to the Second Vatican Council and prepared the way for the revitalization of the Latin American bishops' conference into a forward-looking body whose bold calls for reform and "the preferential option for the poor" contrasted sharply with its previous orientation.[20] In a similar way, Gutiérrez used the Marxist notion of class conflict and the economic theory of dependency to argue for a fundamental shift in Catholic thought and practice. His new "liberation theology" argued that Catholics had to side with the proletariat in the ongoing battle with the bourgeoisie and that Jesus Christ was a political liberator as well as a spiritual savior.[21] Torres

went one step further. When he became convinced that his native Colombia was incorrigibly resistant to peaceful political reform, he ended his priestly ministry and joined the guerilla fighters of the Army of National Liberation. He died in combat against the Colombian army in 1966.[22]

Illich's association with these men should rule out a possible interpretation of his harsh critiques of American aid to Latin America: the idea that Illich was a partisan of the Latin America social and economic system. On the contrary, although Illich was neither a liberation theologian nor a militant revolutionary, he shared with Torres and his other Latin American friends a deep desire for extensive social and political reform in Latin America. He saw clearly the injustice and misery that plagued much of the region, and he believed that serious change was necessary. His firm conviction that Americans were the wrong agents of reform should not be taken to imply that he believed no reforms were necessary.

The Lives of Ivan Illich

Of the two periods of Illich's years in Mexico, the "Catholic period" from 1961 to 1967 has received little attention, but in many ways it was the foundation and source of the better-known "secular period" from 1967 to 1976. The obvious question is how the two periods were related. How did the churchman become the social critic? Did he lose his Catholic faith and replace it with a sort of political religion?

This book seeks to clarify both periods and to explain the relationship between them. Even more, this book argues for the underlying unity of Illich's life and thought. Father Joseph Fitzpatrick, a longtime friend of Illich's, said in the 1990s, decades after Illich had ended his priestly ministry, "I often feel I am with the real Ivan when we say a few evening prayers together, or when he devoutly assists at my Masses."[23] Despite the different lives of Illich, he is best understood as a Catholic priest of conscious orthodoxy grappling with the crisis of Western modernity.

CHAPTER ONE

WRONG MAN FOR THE JOB

In 1946 an earnest Maryknoll priest named John J. Considine asked, "For millions and tens of millions in Latin America, where is the Mass on Sunday morning near enough for them to frequent? Where are the organized parish life and the instructed Catholic body? Where is the disciplined Catholic community under the guidance of an ever-present priest?" If Latin America were to enjoy the level of clerical attention enjoyed by Catholics in the United States—one priest for every one thousand believers—then thousands more priests were needed, hence the title of his book: *Call for Forty Thousand*. Europe and the United States, he argued, had the responsibility to provide thousands of missionary priests to plug the gap until Latin America could produce its own priests.[1]

In 1953 Catholic Action groups from all over Latin America met in Chimbote, Peru, to assess the health of Catholicism in the region. The delegates concluded that most Latin Americans were nominal Catholics. They might be baptized but they did not practice their faith in any serious or systematic way. Catholic religious education was of such poor quality that most people did not even understand that a life guided by Christian principles was necessary or desirable.[2] The delegates concluded that Latin America had received the Catholic message but required "a profound restoration" of its faith. If Latin American Catholics did not adopt "an apostolic attitude of missionary penetration" they would see Protestantism, communism, freemasonry, liberalism, and naturalism spreading through the region, filling the spiritual vacuum created by Catholicism's weakness.[3]

In response to the looming crisis in one of the Church's most important regions, in 1955 Pope Pius XII (1939–58) called for more

aid, especially priests, to the region and in 1958 set up the Pontifical Commission for Latin America to coordinate U.S. and Canadian aid to Latin America.[4] Pope John XXIII (1958–63) likewise directed the Church's attention to the great needs of Latin America and especially to its scarcity of priests.[5] In 1959 he brought together bishops from the United States, Canada, and Latin America to strengthen the Latin Church, in light of its need for tens of thousands of priests.[6] In 1961 he went so far as to authorize Agostino Casaroli, his representative at a conference at the University of Notre Dame, to call for a "prompt, timely, and effective" plan in which each American religious province would "contribute to Latin America in the next ten years a tithe—ten percent—of its present membership."[7]

John Considine, in the audience at Notre Dame for Casaroli's speech, noted in his diary that he felt a "secret pleasure" at the call for ten percent, for it was, in fact, based on a plan he had presented to Antonio Samorè of the Pontifical Council on Latin America a few months before, which was in turn a new version of the challenge to the North American Church he had made fifteen years earlier in his *Call for Forty Thousand*.[8] His efforts had paid off. The Vatican had made U.S. support of Latin America an explicit priority and its "call for ten percent" legitimated and gave focus to the sense of urgency about Latin America that already was sweeping through the religious orders and the dioceses of the Church in the United States.[9]

In its most ambitious form the project encompassed an international consortium of Catholic agencies and organizations that would raise and spend $10 million each year for recruiting, training, education, social programs, and mass media in Latin America. The Pontifical Commission for Latin America planned to supervise the bishops' organizations of Latin America, the United States, Canada, Spain, France, and Germany, which would in turn supervise orders and organizations in their nations, creating a massive and well-organized program of aid. Both John XXIII and the Pontifical Commission also supported Considine's plan for a corps of lay missionaries known as the Papal Volunteers for Latin America (PAVLA) as a central part of the missionary initiative. The situation was so dire that priests and

religious simply could not handle it by themselves; the whole body of Christ must be mobilized.[10]

In the next few years, as the opposition of Illich and many others to this plan became more and more evident, Considine's commitment to it never wavered because he was convinced that, although the ten percent figure had been his idea, Pius XII and John XXIII sincerely believed in the initiative. In 1963, even as Illich's opposition was starting to become apparent, Considine comforted himself with the idea that John XXIII saw the initiative in Latin America as having the same level of importance as Vatican II. He had heard that the pontiff's dying words had been "Oh, the great work in Latin America," repeated several times. "At each utterance," said Considine, "his face was transfigured with satisfaction and his hand traced a blessing as if to confirm his words."[11] He knew also that Paul VI seemed equally committed, stating in 1964 that the Latin American Church was in "a decisive hour," calling for more European priests to go to the region, and challenging American dioceses to adopt the ten percent goal that had earlier been applied only to religious.[12] Even in the midst of an anti-missionary climate a few years later, Considine insisted to an American priest working in Latin America, "Most of all, without being controversial, repeat and repeat and repeat the fact that the Gospel must be preached."[13]

A New Problem and a Logical Solution

The issue in 1960 and 1961 was how to prepare the growing numbers of clerical, religious, and lay volunteers for service in Latin America. Protestant missionary organizations, especially the Wycliffe Bible Translators, had developed effective language training programs and even sophisticated linguistics curricula that enabled graduates to translate the Bible into indigenous languages, but the Catholic Church seemed to lack that level of missionary commitment or expertise.[14] Even the most enthusiastic supporters of the new initiative realized that these would-be missionaries needed some sort of training before they could operate effectively in the mission field. At the very least they

should learn Spanish; an introduction to Latin American culture and history would help too.

As Considine, now the head of National Catholic Welfare Conference's Latin America Bureau (LAB), pondered this issue, one person came to mind: Ivan Illich. In hindsight, knowing what Illich would later do and say, he seems a strange choice as the master trainer of missionaries. Even at the time, Paul Tanner, general secretary of the American bishops' organization, when he heard that Considine was considering Illich as director of training for the LAB, was at first "disturbed" and a few days later "determined not to have Mons[ignor] Illich in the picture."[15] Considine knew that Illich had some quirks, but he had no idea that Illich eventually would choose to become a full-time controversialist. In fact, in 1960 there were legitimate reasons to think that Illich might be the man for the job of training America's missionaries to Latin America: (1) his impressive intellect, (2) his successful ministry with Puerto Ricans in New York City, (3) his experience of training missionaries in Puerto Rico, and (4) his working relationship with Considine.

First, born in Vienna, raised in Croatia, educated in philosophy and theology in Rome, with a doctorate in history from the University of Salzburg, speaking German, Spanish, French, Italian, Serbo-Croatian, Greek, Latin, Portuguese, Yiddish, and English, Illich possessed intellectual abilities and a cultural/historical understanding rivaled by few, if any, other priests in the United States.[16] Illich understood Church history, Catholic theology, literature, the physical sciences, and the social sciences, while maintaining the ability to relate to common people.

Second, Illich had launched a groundbreaking ministry to Puerto Ricans in the Washington Heights section of New York City. Originally, he had come to the United States in 1951 to escape Rome and Vatican bureaucracy, for which he was assumed to be headed, to do research at Princeton University and perhaps to be closer to his mother, who then lived in Manhattan. However, a small incident altered his plans, and ultimately his life. "On my first evening in America," Illich said, "I came upon a little market at the corner of 108th Street and Park Avenue, and that's what changed me from the rather respectable professor that I was kind of preparing to be into a person concerned

with Puerto Rican politics in New York."[17] When some family friends mentioned their fears of these new Puerto Rican migrants, he became intrigued enough to explore Puerto Rican neighborhoods on 112th Street for the next two days. Surprising everyone who knew him and probably himself as well, he became convinced that he should work with this group. Cardinal Spellman was happy to assign the accomplished young priest to a parish with a large Puerto Rican population.[18] Where other, predominantly Irish American, priests in the archdiocese of New York did not welcome or understand the rapid influx of Puerto Ricans, Illich was full of ideas about how to reach them. He learned Spanish with his characteristic rapidity, and then spent his vacations in Puerto Rico, immersing himself in the culture and traveling on foot to the most remote locations in the interior of the island. One can get a sense for the extent to which he threw himself into these expeditions in the following description of his first trip to the island: "The first Mass I said at about six in the morning, after I had slept all night on the altar steps of the chapel; then I traveled on, by horseback, to the next chapel. I heard confessions, said Mass, baptized, married, and off I went to the third chapel, on horseback still, where I arrived after noon."[19]

Back in New York at Incarnation Parish in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan, he worked tirelessly for his Puerto Rican parishioners, bringing in social workers, organizing camps for children, visiting the sick, and starting an employment agency.[20] Other than Jesuit priest and Fordham University professor Joseph Fitzpatrick, who quickly became a close friend, Illich found few allies in this endeavor and considered the Church's treatment of Puerto Ricans a "scandal."[21] In 1955 he popularized what is now one of New York's major holidays, Puerto Rican Day. Cardinal Francis Spellman had attempted to start celebrating the holy day of San Juan, the patron saint of Puerto Rico, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, but few Puerto Ricans had shown up. Illich suggested moving the event outdoors and managed to attract a gathering of 35,000 people at Fordham University. Spellman was so impressed by Illich's success with a group that no one else seemed to understand that in August 1957 he made Illich the youngest Monsignor in the United States and shielded Illich from attacks within the church for years to

come.[22] Illich did not necessarily like the conservative Spellman, but he respected him as "pious" and "an unusually shrewd, bright man."[23] Whatever Spellman thought of Illich's later radicalism, he proved an unflinching protector throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

As important as his many accomplishments was Illich's insight into the Puerto Rican experience in New York. He designated Puerto Ricans "not foreigners, yet foreign" because although American citizens, their culture was "more foreign" than that of previous waves of European migrants to New York City. In fact, for Illich, Puerto Rican migration to New York was "a phenomenon without precedent" for American Catholic leaders.[24] If these leaders failed to understand their Puerto Rican parishioners, they could "seriously damage" their souls. If Catholic leaders learned to appreciate the new members of their flock, Puerto Ricans could make several valuable contributions to the United States, including "a Catholicism which is taken for granted, an eminently Christian attitude towards the mixing of races, a freshness and simplicity of outlook proper to the tropics, a new pattern of political freedom in association with the United States, a bridge between hemispheres politically and culturally no less than economically."[25] Illich saw in many Puerto Ricans the "anguish of a people who were lonely, frightened, and powerless"; he knew too that most American overtures to them were rebuffed because the Puerto Ricans sensed "the condescension, and often the contempt" behind the apparent benevolence.[26]

Third, Illich evidenced a strong desire to train missionaries and a well-developed theological rationale for doing so. In 1956, Spellman sent his protégé to serve as the vice rector of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico in Ponce and as the founder and leader of the Institute of Intercultural Communication, which trained hundreds of New York priests and sisters and some teachers, firefighters, police officers, and social workers in the Spanish language and in Latin American culture. His experiences with New York priests and with other American missionaries had convinced him that the average American was ill prepared for cross-cultural ministry. "It seemed important to me," he said, "that people in New York would know enough Spanish and would have breathed enough tropical air not to be frightened by these brown

chattering people intruding upon them."[27] Illich developed a program "combining the very intensive study of spoken Spanish with field experience and with the academic study of Puerto Rican poetry, history, songs, and social reality." He wanted his program to provide not only information and skills, but also a transformative spiritual experience. He believed that language learning was "one of the few occasions in which an adult can go through a deep experience of poverty, of weakness, and of dependence on the good will of another." He seems to have been genuinely appreciative that many of his students came to his program "at great personal sacrifice" and genuinely proud of their commitment to the poor.[28]

The training program that Illich developed at Ponce was based on his belief in "missionary poverty." Illich did not simply immerse his students in the language and culture of Puerto Rico because he wanted to give them useful tools for specific missionary tasks. He saw the development of a missionary as a spiritual process in which the incarnation of Christ was the prototype: Christ "entered a world by nature not his own" to share the gospel with "those who are other." The missionary, in the same way, must put aside his own culture to enter the culture of another people. Leaving friends and family was difficult and suffering materially was difficult, but "how much more difficult is it to become detached from convictions deeply rooted in us since childhood about what is and is not done?"[29] The process of becoming a missionary was "difficult and extremely painful," not so much because of the hard work necessary to master a new language and to learn about a new culture, but because of the anguish of letting go of what one held most dear. The result of this process, though, was "an intimate mystical imitation of Christ in His Incarnation."[30]

In one of the surviving "meditations" Illich gave before the daily hour of silent prayer in Puerto Rico, his sensitive, culturally attuned compassion shined through. "The gift a people give us," he explained, "in teaching us their language is more a gift of the rhythm, the mode, and the subtleties of its system of silences than of its system of sounds." The silence of a priest on a bus listening to a peasant's description of a sick goat was "the fruit of a missionary form of long training in

patience," while another missionary's memorized verbal platitudes and inability to listen were a sign of alienation and disrespect. "Ultimately," he suggested, "missionary silence is a gift, a gift of prayer—learned in prayer by one infinitely distant, infinitely foreign, and experienced in love for men, much more distant and foreign ever than men at home."[31] He was not teaching a technique or a system; he was calling his charges to a deeper relationship with God. His personal devotion to Christ and his deep hopes for his students could not help but make a considerable impression. Despite the fact that he "made them live on simple native diets, inspired them to travel on foot and on horseback to the wildest mountain regions of Puerto Rico, gave up his own punctuality to accustom them to the Latin Americans' more relaxed approach to scheduling, and grilled them with rigorous cross-examinations," he won the affection and respect of many of his charges and prepared them well for cross-cultural ministry.[32]

Fourth, during the summer and fall of 1960, Considine and Illich developed a working relationship that seemed to promise great things for the future. As the new head of the LAB, the office of the American bishops' organization charged with spearheading Pope John's "ten percent plan," Considine soon accepted an invitation from Illich to speak at the missionary training program at Ponce and spent much of his time talking to him about "the training program for the Papal Volunteers." Illich expressed interest in training all of these volunteers, "either here [at Ponce] or at some other spot such as Mexico." Considine was so impressed that he offered Illich the post of director of training for the LAB, and Illich was interested enough in the position that he secured Cardinal Spellman's permission to take it.[33]

Although Considine had logical reasons to put his trust in Illich, unknown to Considine, or perhaps known but underestimated, were several issues that made Illich a dangerous man to put in charge of would-be missionaries. As mentioned above, Illich did not have the trust of Paul Tanner, the general secretary of the U.S. bishops' organization. Also, in his years in New York City Illich had never fit in with his fellow priests, tended to look down on them, and often ignored rules and regulations. His friend Joseph Fitzpatrick had warned that Illich

would make many enemies in any official position that he held and had advised the rector of the Catholic University not to hire him in the first place.[34] Finally, he had written articles under an assumed name about controversial issues that could have made him too divisive for a high-profile position if his authorship had been generally known.[35]

Even more dangerous to Considine's plans was Illich's impression of American missionary priests, which was already low when he arrived in Puerto Rico and continued to drop as he lived there. Instead of praising the accomplishments of U.S. Catholics, who saw themselves as having revived the Catholic Church of Puerto Rico through providing priests, nuns, schools, and other aid, Illich attacked the American role. "I learned in Puerto Rico," he later remembered, "that there are only a few people who are not stunted or wholly destroyed by lifelong work 'for the poor' in a foreign country."[36]

According to Fitzpatrick, Illich believed that the American Catholics "had never really penetrated to an understanding and appreciation of the Puerto Rican (Latin) way of life; had little perception of the profound traditional values which lay there; and hadn't the beginning of an idea about what to do with them." Illich's attitude came across when he asked a group of American priests who had been working in Puerto Rico for years to suggest some Puerto Rican poetry that might help him to understand the local culture: "None of the Americans in the group had ever read any Puerto Rican poetry. When he pressed the Americans, few of them had any familiarity with the intellectual, literary, or even religious traditions of the Spanish-speaking people." To Fitzpatrick it was not surprising that the "air was blue with controversy" during Illich's years in Ponce.[37]

At the heart of Illich's difficult personality was his spiritual formation under Jacques Maritain during his seminary years in Italy. While serving as France's ambassador to the Vatican from 1945 to 1948, Maritain ran a seminar on Thomas Aquinas that permanently influenced Illich. Illich found Maritain's humanistic but rigorous approach to Thomas's theology illuminating and compelling. This seminar, said Illich, "laid the Thomistic foundations of my entire perceptual mode." "I discovered Thomism—no, *Thomas*—as I discovered him through Jacques Maritain,

as the architecture which has made me intellectually free to move between Hugh of St. Victor and Kant, between Shutz . . . and Freud, or again into the world of Islam, without getting dispersed," he said. In short, Maritain and Thomas Aquinas made Illich into that rare person, someone rooted not in the spirit of his own age, but in the thought of the past. Illich by no means neglected the great thinkers, Christian and secular, of the twentieth century—he read voraciously, had the *New York Times* delivered daily during his later years in Mexico, and counted intellectuals of various perspectives as his friends and colleagues—but he always did so from afar.[38] From his intellectual home in Thomas's thirteenth century he looked at the twentieth century from the perspective of a visitor or an explorer, and interrogated ideas that others took for granted. Among the notions that Illich would question, and ultimately reject, was "development," a form of hubris within which he ultimately included Considine's plans for Latin America.

In September 1960, faced with general secretary Tanner's rejection of any official role for Illich in the LAB (and with Illich's involvement in a political controversy outlined below), Considine and Illich had to devise an alternative way for Illich to train missionaries. "Illich phoned from New York," wrote Considine, "and gave [a] promising plan in the sense that we can possibly work toward having his training program tied to some university." By early October the plan had been further refined: Fordham University in New York would sponsor a training course that would take place somewhere in Latin America.[39] Illich hoped "to have direct influence on the training of almost all personnel going to Latin America" because he believed "the success of all this aid-in-personnel to the Church in Latin America HINGES on the proper preparation of this personnel." Based on his experiences in Ponce, he envisioned two or three four-month courses given each year at the new facility:

> A four-month course has been found to the minimum necessary to prepare the average young religious who knows no Spanish to become a functional native speaker of Spanish able to measure up to most pastoral requirements and at the same time to follow an intensive series of

> courses and seminars in sociology, Latin American area studies, and mission methodology.[40]

Considine was so enthusiastic about the idea that he gave Illich $750 of his own money for a "reconnoitering journey in [the] Caribbean to determine location of his school."[41]

A big hint that Illich was not the easiest person to work with should have come to Considine at this time, the summer and fall of 1960. The two Puerto Rican bishops, James Edward McManus and James Davis, whom Illich later called "a well-meaning Irish turkey" and a "self-seeking, vain careerist," respectively, had denounced Puerto Rican governor Luis Muñoz Marin's Popular Democratic Party for its support of birth control and divorce and had created a rival Catholic party whose symbol was a rosary superimposed over the papal flag.[42] In July, Illich denounced the bishops' political meddling:

> As a historian, I saw that it violated the American tradition of Church and State separation. As a politician, I predicted that there wasn't enough strength in Catholic ranks to create a meaningful platform and that failure of McManus's party would be disastrous on the already frail prestige of the Puerto Rican Church. As a theologian, I believe that the Church must always condemn injustice in the light of the Gospel, but never has the right to speak in favor of a specific political party.[43]

Bishop McManus did not take kindly to Illich's statements. "I told him that I recognized his right to think however he wanted to about the bishops," he said, "but that he should not use the university as an instrument to promote his ideas. Instead of stopping his criticisms, he increased them, opposing himself more and more to the bishops and trying to create problems in all sorts of ways."[44]

The last straw came when Illich disobeyed a direct order from McManus forbidding priests from attending a meal with Governor Muñoz. Despite Cardinal Spellman's continued support, in September Bishop McManus ordered Illich to leave his post at the university. "There is so much evidence that you are still an active element in the opposition

to the Christian Party and an active collaborator with those who in the past have been enemies of the Catholic Religion and in the present proclaim heretical doctrine as official policy and part of their political program," said the bishop in October, "that I must now consider your presence as dangerous to the Diocese of Ponce and its institutions."[45] Looking back at the incident a few years later, McManus said, "My opinion is that Illich thinks that he is the messiah and that only he can save the Church."[46]

Considine, although disappointed that Illich had burned his bridges with Bishop McManus, seems to have had no qualms about basing the American church's training program on the talents of a man obviously willing to defy his superiors. In fact, even as the controversy burned in Puerto Rico, Considine assured Illich, "No one is prepared as you are through your terrific job at Ponce," and encouraged him, "I hope you will keep your fertile brain at work for this very important need in the Latin American apostolate."[47] In late October and early November, Illich used money provided by Considine to travel to Costa Rica and Mexico, investigating sites for the new training center, and settled on Cuernavaca, not far from Mexico City.[48] Considine visited the site, inspected the Hotel Chulavista that Illich proposed to lease, and met with local bishop Sergio Méndez Arceo, who "spoke warmly" of the training center. Considine wrote to Illich, "I like your taste in picking out Cuernavaca" and in his diary remarked that he was "highly pleased" with the way his trip to Mexico had worked out.[49] With the training center now planned to open in a few months, Considine believed that he had solved the problem of how to train the thousands of American Catholics who wanted to serve in Latin America.

The Pilgrimage of Ivan Illich

> *If we succeed in questioning an accepted context within which we think, we thereby outgrow its bondage, but this does not mean that we either answer any puzzles, old or new, nor that we define a new setting or paradigm for future thought. We only open a horizon on*

> *which new paradigms for thought can appear. We leave home on a pilgrimage. But it is not the pilgrimage of the West which leads over a travelled road to a famed sanctuary. It is the pilgrimage of the Christian East, which does not know where the road might lead and the journey end.*
>
> *Ivan Illich, 1970*[50]

As prickly, confrontational, and difficult as Ivan Illich was, if he had remained in 1960 the person he had been in 1956, Considine's plans might have come to fruition; thousands of missionaries might have streamed into Cuernavaca and then out again to the pueblos and cities of Latin America, fluent in Spanish and primed for cross-cultural ministry. Unfortunately for Considine, Illich's philosophy of missions had been in flux during his time in Puerto Rico and was continuing to evolve even as he was supposed to be setting up the Cuernavaca center. The details about his transformation are not entirely clear—he was not forthcoming at the time and only gave hints in later years—but the transition period seems to have begun about a year into his tenure in Puerto Rico, to have intensified during the summer of 1960 while he was battling the Puerto Rican bishops, and to have crystallized in late 1960 and early 1961 on a trip he took to South America.

In the mid-1950s Illich visited a friend (probably Gustavo Gutiérrez) in Lima three times and observed firsthand the incredible poverty of the shantytowns that had sprung up around the city. This experience might seem destined to make him an advocate of economic development in the region. However, in Puerto Rico, Illich had a group of friends, including Charlie Rosario and Everett Reimer, who, although aware of Latin America's desperate needs, nevertheless were growing critical of the attempt to industrialize Puerto Rico through "Operation Bootstrap."[51] Illich bought the group "a one-room wooden shack in the mountains that overlook the Caribbean" in Playa Cortada about ten miles east of Ponce so that they could discuss the development ideology of the West in the atmosphere of "learned and leisurely hospitality" that he so preferred to the "stance of deadly cleverness" that he found on university campuses.[52] Illich also had been talking to his friend and

mentor, the theologian Jacques Maritain, about the very concept of "planning," which Maritain did not at first understand. "I had great difficulty in explaining to the old man the meaning of the term I was using: planning was not accounting, nor was it legislation, nor a kind of scheduling of trains," remembered Illich. Maritain at last responded, "Is not planning, which you talk about, a sin, a new species within the vices which grow out of presumption?" Maritain suggested that "in thinking about humans as resources that can be managed, a new certitude about human nature would be brought into existence surreptitiously."[53]

These conversations with his colleagues and with Maritain clearly had a direct connection to Illich's famous attacks on schooling, medicine, and the Alliance for Progress in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but they also seem to have made him more critical of the Church, in which he was slowly identifying similar corruption and institutionalization.[54] He came to see the missionary initiative, especially once it was formulated by Considine and the pope in the terms of "ten percent for Latin America," as a species of "development" and therefore a perversion of Christian charity, an impermissible transformation of persons into "human resources." Just as the Alliance for Progress and the Peace Corps were funneling American experts in "development" into Latin America, Illich feared, the Church was trying to do the same with its version of development and a projected workforce of 40,000.[55]

More evidence for Illich's growing discontentment with the Church and his lumping it together with other corrupted institutions during his years in Puerto Rico is that his essay "The Vanishing Clergyman," which was first published in *The Critic* in 1967, actually was written in 1959 while he was still in Puerto Rico.[56] The essay referred to the Catholic Church as "the world's largest bureaucracy" whose "machine-like smoothness" had compromised its "relevance to the gospel and to the world," a clear sign that Illich's radical proposals that burst forth in 1967—married clergy, laymen presiding over congregations—were not something new, but rather concepts that had been present in his thinking for a decade.[57]

Another key issue for Illich was that he did not view popular Latin American Catholicism as deficient. Ever since his first trip to South

America in the mid-1950s he had been impressed by the "extraordinary traditions" of popular religion he found throughout the continent. He was saddened by the lack of attention given to these traditions by pastors and theologians and saw it as evidence of the alienation of the Latin American Church from its roots. He resolved, therefore, to gather as much historical evidence as he could of this vibrant popular religion, from his own day and all the way back to the colonial era.[58]

Illich's appreciation was not merely historical. Where many Catholic social scientists and missionary intellectuals such as Considine viewed the Catholic practice of the Latin American majority as clearly substandard, Illich saw a region where "the Church is strongly experienced as a universal mother." He did not write much on Latin American popular religion (probably because he did not want to debate the issue), but his views on Puerto Rican Catholicism are suggestive. "For anybody who has ever breathed the atmosphere of the Island," he said of Puerto Rico, "there is no doubt that theirs is a Catholic folk-culture." He went on to describe the ways in which people who had little contact with the institutional church nevertheless "regularly ask their parents' blessing before leaving the house," "devotedly invoke the names of Our Lord or the Virgin," "plaster their homes with holy pictures," and "sign themselves with the Cross before leaving home." Because most Puerto Ricans lived "dispersed over the steep hills of the interior" they could not attend Mass regularly, baptize their children, or marry in the church. "'Bad habits' like these," he believed, "are not a sign of lack of Catholic spirit, but rather the effects of a peculiar ecclesiastical history."[59]

He had at first been put off by the way in which people would talk in church while he heard confessions and did baptisms, but he had come to see that Puerto Ricans saw the church truly as their father's house, that the conversation was a sign of familiarity, not disrespect. "Mass," Illich came to believe, "is an important happening in the family's life—a happening which brings him [sic] together with all his neighbors . . . Mass is easily understood as a family dinner—as the 'communion' of the community."[60]

In fact, of all the places that Illich ever lived as an adult—Rome, New York, Cuernavaca, Pennsylvania, Germany—Puerto Rico was the

only one where he felt truly at home, a place where he would say, "We Puerto Ricans."[61] For his own complex reasons, the aristocratic Austrian identified with Puerto Rican culture and thus with all of Latin America. Consequently, he responded to plans for Latin America as if they were attacks on his home, not just as generic bad ideas.

In October 1959, feeling that he had accomplished "more or less" what he wanted to do in Puerto Rico and hoping to get some perspective on the growing tension inside himself between his love and respect for Latin American Catholicism and the growing American influence in the region, he arranged a retreat in the Sahara desert. At Assekrem, 9,000 feet above sea level, on a rocky plateau 300 feet below the summit of one of the highest of the Ahaggar mountains in southern Algeria, Illich stared out over the yellow sands of the desert and massive formations of black rock. From 1911 until his murder in 1916, French priest Charles de Foucauld had lived at Assekrem as a hermit; in 1950 another French priest, Jean-Marie Cortade, had established a rough hermitage that consisted of a few rough rock buildings, with neither running water nor bathrooms. Illich spent forty days at Assekrem in "complete exterior and interior silence," sleeping on a stone bed in a cave, relishing the intense visual experience, and having "the most wonderful time" of his life.[62]

"The immensity of the desert," he said of Assekrem, "overwhelms both the power and weakness of men . . . The emptiness of the desert makes it possible to learn the almost impossible: the joyful acceptance of our uselessness." The nature of Illich's understanding of "uselessness" comes across in his words about Carlo Carretto, the Italian priest who hosted him at Assekrem and who had been transformed by his time in the desert: "I came to marvel at his lack of embarrassment at being judged childish when he said something true; his unconcern when he was judged escapist because he refused to be militant." Illich's actions over the course of the next decade suggest that his desert retreat had a similar effect on him, stripping away a last layer of pride, a last reserve of respectability, preparing him to risk his reputation and his professional security for issues of truth and justice.[63] "Should I, a man totally at the service of the Church, stay in the structure in order

to subvert it, or leave in order to live the model of the future?" Illich soon wondered.[64] In the end he seems to have chosen both options. He stayed in the structure for as long as he could, all the while trying to produce a model of what he thought the Church should be.

Back in Puerto Rico, late one night in July 1960, having earlier that day gone on three television shows to denounce the "foolishness" of Bishop McManus's political statements and knowing that he would soon have to leave the university, Illich asked his friends, "What now?" As they thought about the impending American Catholic missionary initiative, they were less concerned about the "average bureaucratic little puppet" who was simply "seeking experience, avoiding the draft or looking for adventure" than about "the serious, the good ones, the responsible ones," who might do the most damage by becoming models of "high levels of service consumption" and making Latin Americans dependent on American "saviors."[65] Here is the plan they devised:

> Set ourselves up somewhere between North and South America, to attract for the best possible training, especially language training, highly motivated people who want to go to Latin America. When we have them under our influence, we'll either upset them or infiltrate their organizations, or ridicule the people when they have got into Latin America.[66]

Rather than being in tune with the plans of Considine, the American bishops, and the pope, Illich was imagining an *anti-missionary* training center designed to *discourage* would-be missionaries. There was a certain amount of pain in the decision to leave Puerto Rico, a place where Illich felt truly at home, but he had had the sense since the age of twelve that his destiny was not to stay in one place.[67]

A devotee of medieval spirituality, Illich began a four-month pilgrimage in Santiago, Chile, that wended 3,000 miles through the continent before ending in Caracas, Venezuela. As usual, he did not leave a record of any special insights that he developed on the journey, but it clearly confirmed his apprehensions about the negative impact of American Catholics coming to the region. In Colombia, for instance, he encountered American priests who distributed U.S. government

powdered milk, creating "milk Christians" who saw the church primarily as a supplier of material needs. He believed that the missionaries were infecting Colombians with the desire for a standard of living that they could never achieve and converting them to the American way of life rather than to Christianity.[68] Other remarks by Illich implied that the missionaries he met during this time conceived of their role as making the Latin American Church look more like the Church in the United States, saving Latin America from communism, and building costly schools and church buildings.[69] Illich was so angered by these Americans that in 1960, probably on this trip, he told Bishop Manuel Larraín, president of the Latin American bishops' organization, that he was "prepared if necessary to stop the coming of the missionaries to Latin America."[70] The vehemence of Illich's reaction probably also came from his conception of Latin America as a region distinct from all other developing areas because its social structures were "built up either around the Church or in contrast with it."[71] Whatever the other details of the trip, Illich emerged from it determined to defy the dreams of Considine and the plans of the Vatican, regardless of the cost.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CENTER FOR INTERCULTURAL FORMATION

Anticipating the call of the Holy See for outside personnel to assist the Church in Latin America, we considered training in intercultural formation as an absolute prerequisite if this assistance were to be effective . . . A certain amount of emotional stress is inevitable in the program.

Ivan Illich, 1961 Report to Center for Intercultural Formation Board of Directors[1]

When asked why he had chosen Cuernavaca, a tourist-filled city about an hour's drive outside of Mexico City, for his missionary-training center, Illich once told an interviewer that he had simply thrown darts at a map of Central America.[2] Actually, much of his decision had to do with the city's bishop, Sergio Méndez Arceo, who had a reputation as one of the progressives in what could be a quite traditional Mexican church.

While scouting locations in October 1960, Illich stopped by the bishop's residence unannounced and began what became a nine-hour conversation with the words, "I would like to start a center for de-Yankeefication." The two men had similar understandings of the Church and Catholicism, but they also simply enjoyed each other's company. Illich saw the bishop as "a man for whom *le bon ton, le bon goût* [the right tone and good taste], were of supreme importance, a man with whom I could communicate on my own wave length . . . and I knew from the start that we could please and even surprise each other."[3]

In the spring of 1961 Illich and friends Feodora Stancioff and Brother Gerry Morris (of the Society of Mary) set up the center at the

old Hotel Chulavista, once considered "the best hotel in Cuernavaca" because of "a swimming pool, a dance orchestra, and a casino."[4] Illich believed that Cuernavaca, with its location near the major airport in Mexico City and year-round spring-like climate, would be an attractive destination for many Americans. But he also believed that since Cuernavaca was already a tourist destination it would not be corrupted by the influx of hundreds of Americans. It was a place "so touristy that any damage which outsiders could do to a Mexican town had already been done." Mexico in general was a safe choice for the center, since it had a secular constitution and government but a thoroughly Catholic populace, meaning that Illich could be in a "Catholic" nation without having to fear that his theological musings could get him in trouble with the government.[5]

He was operating under a number of convictions. He understood that Pius XII and John XXIII had called for massive aid to Latin America, but he firmly believed that missionary work by North Americans for Latin Americans was bad for both groups. Most missionaries whom he had encountered were emotionally damaged by their work; all they accomplished was "to impede the revolutionary changes needed" in Latin America. He thought that American missionaries tended to preach not the Christian Gospel but "a delusive belief in the ideals of democracy, equal opportunity, and free enterprise" to people who had no hope of achieving any of those goals. Having Americans show Peruvians "how to really dig wells" was a caricature of true Christian mission. "It angers a person more," he claimed, "to hear a priest preach cleanliness, thrift, resistance to socialism, or obedience to unjust authority, than to accept military rule." "The projected crusade had to be stopped," he therefore concluded.[6]

To stop the crusade, he needed to attract to his training center many of the would-be missionaries, especially leaders who could then "get at the nerve centers" of the movement. Therefore, Illich ensured that the Center for Intercultural Formation (CIF) had impeccable credentials. Fordham University president Laurence McGinley gave Illich the title of "Assistant to the President" and sponsored the new center. CIF also enjoyed the support of Cardinal Spellman of New

York, of the Latin America Bureau's John Considine, and of one of the leading proponents of aid to Latin America, Cardinal Richard Cushing of Boston. It was financed initially by a $12,000 loan from Fordham and a $40,000 grant from the Pontifical Commission for Latin America. In light of later statements by Illich that his center was a completely secular organization, it is important to note that, in the very first organizational meeting of the CIF, the new center was clearly characterized as a response to the American bishops' "encouragement to promote the training of missionaries for Latin America." Similarly, Illich was not, as he later liked to say, operating in a purely secular situation as a sort of "working priest," with no superiors other than Cardinal Spellman back in New York. Spellman appointed McGinley as "Ecclesiastical Superior responsible for Msgr. Illich," specifically "to enable Msgr. Illich to use his talents rightly under the real direction of a Superior." The new center also had the backing of the executive committee of the Men's Conference of Religious Superiors, who agreed to publish a newsletter on Latin America that Illich would write at CIF.[7]

To attract as many students as possible, Illich made sure that the language side of the program was outstanding and thus able to attract "highly motivated North Americans who wish to learn to speak the Spanish language correctly, fluently, and idiomatically in two or three months."[8] As ambitious as that program sounded, there was no indication that it did anything less than what Illich described and it did indeed attract exactly the kind of motivated would-be missionaries whom he was trying to reach.

"My institutional goal," he said, "was to pick up the most generous men and women from two dozen volunteer organizations which had sprung up and to offer them a very difficult course." The very difficulty would attract the most ambitious students, the future leaders of the rising generation. He hoped that, through exposure to him, his staff, and Latin American intellectuals, these potential leaders would decide "to upset their own program."[9]

Illich would claim later that he had been open about his antimissionary goals before starting the training center, but that was an

exaggeration.[10] He might have stated that some recruits were not qualified and that many Americans struggled with cultural imperialism, but he had at most implied that he opposed the missionary project itself. If the Latin America Bureau's John Considine had had even the slightest idea that Illich wanted to hinder the American missionary project, he never would have worked so closely with Illich. Even after the first session in Cuernavaca, when Illich had already sent home several would-be missionaries, Considine said of him, "I should talk to John [Ivan] more than anyone else for sparking the LAB program."[11] It is not clear whether Illich ever lied directly to Considine, but he used ambiguity, flattery, and misdirection to convince Considine that he was much more enthusiastic about missions than he really was. During early 1961, for example, as the details for the new center were coming together, Illich praised Considine's speaking skills and personality and offered a Mass for him at the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe.[12] When Bishop McManus of Puerto Rico announced plans to open a rival missionary-training center and made critical statements about Illich, Considine defended Illich's teaching at Ponce as "highly thought of" and immediately relayed the conversation to Illich.[13]

Illich's response to what could have been a devastating blow to his plans—a missionary-training center in Puerto Rico that actually encouraged missionaries to go to Latin America—revealed his basic approach to Considine:

> I fully agree with your reactions to the Bishop's visit. His determination to start, with or without your support and approval, a bid for all students going to Latin America, could very well do some damage to your plans for a Central Training Center at Cuernavaca which we chose together after carefully evaluating its advantages in the interest of the Church.[14]

Illich gave all the agency to Considine. Even though Cuernavaca was clearly a site Illich had picked and even though Illich was the one with the detailed plans for what was actually going to happen

there, he gave all the credit to Considine. Illich emphasized his agreement with the older and presumably wiser Considine: The plans for the training center were "your plans"; Cuernavaca was a site "we" chose; the objections to McManus's plan that Illich outlined were "your reactions." Reading Considine perfectly, Illich also appealed to "the interest of the Church," which both men did truly believe in. The problem was that to Illich the interest of the Church lay in destroying the missionary campaign, whereas to Considine the interest of the Church was in fulfilling it. Illich might not have lied, but he surely deceived.

Throughout February 1961 Considine negotiated with the National Catholic Welfare Conference for a startup grant for the center. Due to Considine's charm and sincerity, general secretary Paul Tanner (who had previously expressed opposition to Illich) agreed that he would approve a grant of $40,000 to the CIF that would pay for "furnishings and equipment."[15] Illich had been shrewd in befriending and winning over Considine—without his help, it is unlikely that the Cuernavaca center would have been financially viable.

However, even as Considine was lining up the $40,000 grant for the training center, he was starting to worry about Illich. As the opening of the first training session loomed, Considine imagined disaster, but not the kind of disaster that Illich actually had in store for him. What kept Considine up late at night (literally) was Illich's approach to finances. Illich wanted no responsibility for raising additional funds for the center, while Considine, who was a dedicated fundraiser, thought that fundraising should be one of the director's top priorities.[16] "Concerned last evening about sufficient clients for Cuernavaca to meet costs," Considine wrote in his diary, "and the consequent harm to lay movement if finances go sour. No sleep until 4:30." Low enrollment for the course and rumors of Illich's "erratic" finances, which included a low official budget for show and a higher real budget, so worried Considine that he tried to delay the signing of the lease of the Cuernavaca facilities.[17] In later years, Considine probably wished that nobody *had* signed up for the course, but low attendance was never Cuernavaca's problem.

Illich in Action

One of the most remarkable aspects of the anti-missionary plot is that it worked, and worked for many years, a point that Illich appeared to relish:

> Throughout the 1960s our experience and reputation in the intensive training of foreign professionals for assignment to South America, and the fact that we continued to be the only center specializing in this type of education, ensured a continuing flow of students through our center—not withstanding our stated, basically subversive purposes.[18]

The first session opened on June 19, 1961, and went to October 6, 1961, and the center operated two or three such four-month sessions each year during most of the 1960s. The first session, on which we have some of the best information, will have to stand for the others. Thirty-five lay Catholics and twenty-seven clergy—fifteen priests, one religious brother, one seminary student, and ten religious sisters—paid from $550 to $750 to attend. Among the clergy were Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Marianists, Sisters of Charity, and priests from the dioceses of Brooklyn and Chicago. Most of the lay students came from a new organization called Papal Volunteers for Latin America (PAVLA) and the Association of International Development (AID, a Catholic service agency based in Patterson, New Jersey, not to be confused with USAID, the U.S. Agency for International Development). They ranged in age and educational background from twenty-year-old Christine Hoegler, a PAVLA volunteer from Kansas City with a high school diploma and experience as a duplicating machine operator, to sixty-seven-year-old Dorothy Gallagher, a college sociology instructor and eighteen-year director of a Latino social services center in Kansas City; but forty-nine of the sixty-two were Americans between twenty and thirty-five, and all but Hoegler had some college-level education; all but eight had bachelor's or seminary degrees.[19] The only neo-missioners (as he called the missionaries in training) that Illich would *not* accept

were those connected with Latin American militaries, such as Sisters of St. Joseph bound for work in an army hospital in Peru.[20]

As far as the content of the training, much of it, as mentioned before, was language training of the highest quality designed to produce fluency by the end of the course. A team of twenty-four local teachers, all between the ages of twenty and twenty-eight, gave the sixty-two trainees at least five hours a day of instruction in classes of no more than four students: three hours in guided drills, at least one hour in the language laboratory, and another hour in directed conversation or grammatical briefing.[21] Halfway through the first course Illich boasted that the Spanish instruction was already as good as that which Ponce had provided. "I have good reasons to believe," he continued, "that in the second semester it will be the best course of this particular type available anywhere in the world."[22] Of course, the rigor of the five-hour-per-day language classes stressed some students to the breaking point. "It was so intensive that you'd have people almost breaking down," remarked one student. "This was Illich's approach, of course. If you cracked, fine; he'd either build you back up or he'd lose you."[23]

Comments from the language staff on some of the Papal Volunteers in the first session give a hint of the instructors' attitudes toward their charges. Richard Cullina, for example, was judged to be "neither articulate in any language nor will he learn Spanish too well." Ethel Knecht was seen as "psychologically unfit to the adaptation necessary to learn any language well." Patricia Speak was believed to lack "capacity to accept another language."[24]

Illich viewed language learning as "one of the few occasions in which an adult can go through a deep experience of poverty, of weakness, and of dependence," but it was just the beginning of his purposely stressful program.[25] The real action took place in classes specifically focused on missions or on the history and culture of Latin America, and in informal conversations between staff and students. In theory, his ideas were similar to those he had presented previously in Ponce, but warnings and negative examples assumed a larger role. He affirmed again the mystical nature of missionary service, especially its connection to Christ's incarnation through suffering, self-denial, and cultural generosity; but

he spent much of his time drawing out the dangers of faulty missionary preparation and emphasizing the high standards necessary for proper preparation. In doing so, he inevitably suggested to many trainees that they were unqualified or ill prepared for the mission field.[26]

For example, Illich raised the bar considerably in terms of the level of academic preparation needed by prospective missionaries. Even before candidates began missionary training, they needed "increased receptivity for the poetic, the historical, and the social aspects of reality." If they had this prerequisite, they must use the theories of social scientists, including "role, status, function, community versus society; self-image versus expectation; public opinion and social pressure; movement and organization; institutionalization and charismatic leadership" to gain a sociological, anthropological, political, economic, cultural, and historical understanding of the societies in which they wished to minister. He believed, "Today it would be folly to try to think of the Church and its growth without reference to these aspects which relate it to any society or community."[27] Guest speakers included a former Cristero rebel speaking on "U.S. Interference in Mexico and Latin America," the director of the Interamerican Indigenous Institute on "The Indian in Modern Mexico," and a host of social scientists on issues such as cultural adaptation to industrialization, the relationship between economic development and culture, *mestizaje*, and Spanish cultural influences. Readings included communist periodicals and the writings of Castro and Mao.[28]

He might not have said it directly, but he strongly implied that prospective missionaries had to be not only highly intelligent but also extremely well educated *before* they began training; if they passed this hurdle, once they began the training they had to become experts on Latin America in several different areas. How many trainees could meet these standards?

One visiting priest admitted that Illich might produce a small missionary elite, but lamented, "The Monsignor is aiming high, too high for me and others of my capacity."[29] Another priest asked, "Is rigorism needed today, or sanctity coupled with skills?"[30] Complaints that Illich was being too tough on his charges came from both Cardinal Cushing

in Boston and the papal nuncio in Peru, Romulo Carboni, perhaps the two most important leaders in the Church's efforts to send U.S. personnel to Latin America, but Considine still defended the "masterly job" that Illich was doing.[31]

"I believed that it was legitimate to manipulate other people, as delicately as possible," Illich later said, "in order to persuade them to make certain decisions. I did my best, in other words, to keep development-obsessed do-gooders out of Latin America." This was a telling revelation, for manipulation, no matter how delicate, was a betrayal of the individual freedom that Illich always saw as sacred.[32]

One of the most successful forms of manipulation was what some of his students called "the shock-treatment approach," which started on the first day of each session when he told the new students that he had opened the center to minimize the damage they would do to Latin America. Throughout each session he then liked to surprise his earnest sisters and young priests with semi-scandalous ideas—for example, yelling "I hate Yankees," at a sister from New Jersey, or claiming that an ideal missionary "may have little pastoral feeling for his people" and might merely assist in "in a cold and technical way." He said that convents and monasteries attracted people who could not survive in the outside world and that they were, in fact, a sort of mental asylum. He compared nuns to prostitutes and convents to brothels. He also enjoyed presenting his young charges with difficult or challenging ideas in forms attributed to others, such as the social scientists mentioned above or persons of high position in the Church. For example, he told them that a Latin American bishop planned to ordain many of his older married men to the priesthood. In another instance he mentioned a political scientist's idea that the Church was the primary foundation of aristocracy in Colombia. *Time* reported, "Illich and his staff deliberately make the students angry, start arguments, challenge cherished beliefs." Guest speakers, such as Father Alejandro del Corro, a Jesuit who would soon become a chaplain to Argentine guerrillas, or missionary priest Leo Mahon, who suggested that attending Mass was not a meaningful measure of faithfulness, could play a similar role.[33]

Provocative statements served as a sort of mirror in which Illich hoped that his trainees might recognize their problems. He saw the questions raised in the students' minds by these challenges as extremely important for testing the mettle of the neo-missioner: "If they throw him into a panic, or compel him to categorically deny their importance, he will become an impediment to 'mission' rather than its instrument."[34] In one instance, a group of sisters came to Illich "in great distress" because Father del Corro had told them not to share their God with Latin Americans and that their God could not be adopted by Latin Americans. In another case, Illich asked his students if they loved "Pedro," a hypothetical recent migrant to Mexico City from the countryside: "Do you love him for himself, for what he is? Or do you love God in him? If you love him because you love God in him, you are wrong. There is no worse offense. It is a denial of the natural order." In both cases, Illich could cluck at their lack of insight and explain what he or del Corro *really* meant, but both the scandal of the near-heresy and the seed of doubt planted by Illich's explanation would remain.[35] As CIF training director Wilbert Wagner unsurprisingly remarked, this sort of contentious atmosphere resulted in "conflict," and then in "hostility or flight."[36] Those who responded negatively to Illich's approach were deemed "not the most suitable for effective work in Latin America."[37]

Even for the intelligent student who had devoured the literature of the social sciences, there was still a gauntlet to run between two terrible dangers. On one hand, as Illich had told his charges in Puerto Rico, was the risk of holding on to one's own culture. Now Illich added the corresponding hazard of "identification with a group in the process of being marginalized" or "identification of the Church by its priests with the psychological needs of individuals." These improper forms of identification with host cultures could result in "marginalization of the Church" and in "destruction of the church from within."[38] Illich does not appear to have explained how one could avoid holding too tightly to one's own culture while simultaneously avoiding improper identification with host cultures, but again these two emphases seem designed more to scare off potential missionaries than to help them adapt to the mission field.

What was the poor neo-missioner to do when faced with these high expectations? Many of them, with the missionary educator's help, would come to the realization that they were not equipped to be missionaries, that "not every man can be a missionary." In fact, Illich listed *seven* separate types that could be taught to recognize their unsuitability for missions. There were those fleeing their homes in a sort of "psychological escapism"; there were aggressive nationalists; there were missionary adventurers with "sensuous dreams of a jungle or martyrdom or of growing a beard." Also objectionable were the "ecclesiastic conquistador" devoted to "heaping up baptisms" and the species more interested in "apostolic tourism" than in self-sacrifice. "Particularly dangerous" was the unreflective missioner who introduced "songs, and stories, and folklore" from the home country, resulting eventually in the alienation of the host culture from its roots.[39] Meanwhile, training director Wilbert Wagner focused on leaders among the students: "We feel it is better to safeguard the common good and ask negative leaders to leave."[40]

Illich found "the serious ones, the good ones" more dangerous than the slackers and apostolic tourists. "Everybody [in a Latin American village] remembers Johnny or Catherine with whimsical pleasure, but everybody also learns that, for digging wells, he knew how to do it because he had gone to Harvard. Therefore," he concluded, "the volunteer becomes the demonstration for the high levels of service consumption."[41]

As might be expected, even those students who made it through the program found it extremely stressful. For example, a French Canadian named Marguerite Dussault, who attended in the summer of 1962, found Joseph Fitzpatrick's lectures on Latin American culture helpful but saw the rest of the course as "extremely negative." "A program which brings students to the verge of hysteria and chased half of them away is at least *discutable*," she said. She felt that Illich was trying to force the trainees to become "another person" in sixteen weeks, an impossible task. "We felt like criminals being pursued for being North Americans," she lamented.[42]

The group that Illich found most objectionable was PAVLA, another initiative proposed by Considine and backed by the Vatican.[43] As part

of the missionary initiative in Latin America, lay Catholics offered their expertise to meet specific needs for periods of two to five years, but in practice many of the 177 volunteers who were serving by March 1963 did not possess needed skills and many did not have a clear idea of what exactly they would be doing in the region. To Illich, the program's goals for its short-term lay missionaries were "irrelevant, misleading, and even offensive" because Latin America did not need unskilled young people looking for short-term spiritual highs, but rather highly trained professionals. American money, Illich believed, would be far more appreciated by Latin American bishops than the "superfluous" volunteers they were currently receiving. Why then give any space at CIF to such people? The answer of course was, "They are on their way, with or without a CIF course." He continued, "Painfully, we have learned how to help such volunteers shed their misguided missionary zeal . . . they are welcome guests on equal footing with all other students."[44] Unspoken, of course, was the fact that being on equal footing with other students meant being equally subject to Illich's attempts to send them home.

When the PAVLA director warned an increasingly reluctant volunteer named Sue Maloney that she would have to reimburse PAVLA $550 if she did not accept her assignment in Peru, Illich said the demand for repayment was "against all academic, ecclesiastical, and human traditions." Illich then presented an interesting definition of the CIF as "a place where volunteers for missions do make up their minds, to find out if they are suited." "You have no right in any way to construe the tuition and travel paid for Sue as an amount you can ask back from Sue if Sue decides not to act for you," he insisted.[45] To him it was a matter of principle, but of course it was also a matter of his goals for the center. If PAVLA volunteers could be pressured into Latin America, all of his tactics would amount to little.

The CIF guidance committee's reports on the Papal Volunteers were predominantly negative, sometimes vituperatively so. Ruth Campos, for example, was sent home halfway through the third session because the CIF staff believed she was "certainly not flexible enough to divest herself of forms of behavior which cannot help but give scandal in any

imaginable assignment as a 'missioner' to Spanish-America." Christine Hoegler was also dismissed early, in her case due to "very doubtful motivation," "immaturity," "rigidity," and "lack of understanding of the need for adaptation." Ray Schroeder was pronounced "a generous unstable teenager who does not quite know what he wants; of very mediocre intelligence and not much ability to adapt to foreign culture patterns."[46]

In reports to the CIF board, Illich bemoaned the low quality of the PAVLA volunteers, using the words "unstable" and "immature" repeatedly.[47] He found PAVLA director Michael Lies, if possible, even more disappointing, for his weakness and lack of "true concern for the Church." In one incident Lies infuriated Illich by allowing two volunteers to proceed to Lima despite admitting to Illich that they were "incapable" and despite Lies's public withdrawal of PAVLA sponsorship.[48] "I pleaded with Illich and his staff to avoid all sense of disdain regarding lay volunteers and to give themselves to building up these people for the good of the Church in Latin America," noted Considine, but his entreaties were unsuccessful.[49] By 1965 Illich was calling for an end to PAVLA, which he believed had become "superfluous," "misleading," and "an affront to the Latin American public," and Considine was complaining that many volunteers "frankly admitted that their morale was broken by Monsignor."[50]

Illich also believed that many prospective missioners did not know their own hearts. While actually seeking fulfillment, freedom, or adventure, they saw themselves as "sacrificing" for the Church. "Please do not imagine yourself a saint or a 'missioner' because you 'volunteer' your services to the Church!" he begged. He devoted great energy to helping such people clarify their motivations. To one such volunteer who appeared to Illich to be on an adventure, on her own terms and for her own satisfaction, he stated, "The principal danger I can see in your decision to accept employment by the Church under the conditions you seek it is that you fool yourself, that you believe yourself to be what you are not: a totally dedicated, totally consecrated woman."[51]

Illich had no qualms about encouraging his neo-missioners to go home even before they were done with training. He believed that it was "not in the best interests of the Church and personal sanctification" for

six PAVLA volunteers to go on to South America and that their priest, John Stitz, should leave the center "at an earlier time than planned" because of his "inability to abstain from interfering in the process of formation of our students." The six students agreed to return to Kansas, despite Stitz's attempts to convince them to stay.[52] Stitz then complained about the atmosphere of the CIF, in which he found "priests and lay people pouring each other drinks" and "a new gospel which is not in accord with the gospel of our Lord."[53]

Since, while Illich was sending PAVLA volunteers home, Considine was promoting the program as a sort of Catholic alternative to the Peace Corps, one might imagine that Illich's dismissal of these volunteers would have landed him in hot water with Considine.[54] This was not the case. During a visit at the end of the first CIF session in October 1961 Considine seems to have seen his relationship with Illich returning to what he believed was the level of closeness and trust it had had before Illich's lack of fundraising had caused tensions between them earlier in that year. He enjoyed a "very satisfactory conversation" with Illich on the drive from Mexico City to Cuernavaca, had a "truly exhilarating experience" at the center, and saw "evidence of fine family spirit." It appeared to him that the program and people there promised "impressive achievement and great promise for the Latin American Church." "Every exchange of views with anyone at Cuernavaca sooner or later turned to an identical conclusion," he noted, "namely, that its resounding success stems from one source and person, Monsignor Illich." Illich was "profoundly admired by everyone" for his intellect, cultural insight, and spirituality; personally, Considine found Illich's ideas about training and about Latin America in general "very helpful."[55] It is difficult to understand Considine's enthusiasm, for only thirty-two of the sixty-two students managed to get through the first session.[56] Perhaps the "fine family spirit" that Considine sensed there had resulted from a situation in which those who most objected to Illich's methods had left.

Another emphasis of the center was the religious orders of the United States and Canada. If the missionary movement were actually to send 30,000 or 40,000 missionaries to Latin America, the bulk of them would be priests, brothers, and sisters from religious

orders. Although this might have seemed eminently logical, to Illich it was highly problematic. Some orders, such as Maryknoll, might understand what was actually required in establishing a new mission and in training and supporting personnel for overseas service, but most, he was convinced, had no idea what they were getting into. The newsletter that Illich produced for religious orders, *Data for Decision in Latin America*, was designed to help the orders that were considering the pope's call to Latin America. Illich's hope and the unstated purpose of the newsletter, of course, was that the "decision" referred to in the title would be to stay home. The teaching orders, such as the Benedictines, the Christian Brothers, and the Jesuits, seemed particularly problematic to Illich because he feared that they would bring the false religion of "schooling" to the region. They would infect a small elite with "an ideology which is often taken to be the Catholic Faith" while sending the message to the rest of the population that such an education was necessary but unobtainable. CIF therefore hosted twenty-three workshops, each for twenty to thirty major religious superiors, that explored the "extraordinary difficulties of transferring such personnel." By 1965 Illich was confident that he had convinced most of the religious orders to abandon any serious attempt to send their people to Latin America.[57]

Over the next few years, though, Illich's vision for the center became more and more evident. In 1963 he boasted to William Mulcahy that the "formation originated in CIF" had led Canadian religious superiors to delay plans for sending missionaries to Latin America and that the lack of new Canadian students in the next course "must be explained as a success of CIF activity."[58] A signal that a new, more public chapter of Illich's anti-missionary campaign came when he announced proudly to a *New York Times* reporter, "We are not training missionaries. We are training people to have a deep sense of humility, who will seek to make their faith relevant to the society in which they will be working."[59] Astute observers, such as journalist Francine du Plessix Gray, could see after visiting the center that it "was not so much designed to train missionaries as to keep all but the most progressive of them away [from Latin America]."[60]

For Love of the Church

A common criticism of Illich is that he was a great denouncer but that he proposed nothing to replace what he destroyed. In the context of Illich's comprehensive anti-missionary program and what over the next few years would be his continuing denunciations of the Church and many aspects of Western culture, it is important to note that he never saw his project as anti-Church or anti-Christianity and that he *could* conceive of missionary activity in a positive sense. In "Mission and Midwifery," a speech to other missionary-training directors in 1964, he spoke insightfully about mission, which he presented as "the growth of the Church into new peoples" and "the interpretation of the Word of God through its expression in ever new languages, in ever new translation."[61] He always believed that he was *serving* the Church through his work at CIF. Even when he was most open in his anti-missionary project, he operated out of love for the Church. Consequently, facing a second contingent of PAVLA volunteers, Illich begged the PAVLA director to send him better trainees. "I am deeply worried," he wrote, "that if your program is identified with the [volunteers destined for Peru] the whole Church and the lay movement stand to lose very much."[62] His concern about the volunteers therefore focused on their impact on the reputation of the Church.

The atmosphere that he engineered in Cuernavaca, with its confrontational tactics and impossibly steep intellectual challenges, was designed to weed out most candidates, but it was not designed to turn them away from God. In fact, he offered spiritual solace to his students from morning to night and framed their studies in a pervasive Catholic spirituality. He scheduled daily Masses at 6:15 and 6:45 each morning, offered adoration of the Blessed Sacrament every night, and on Thursday nights had his colleagues "assure the watches" so that students and teachers could practice Eucharistic adoration all night.[63] One priest remarked approvingly that the chapel in the Hotel Chulavista was "the heart of the building and the heart of the Institute" and called the Mass celebrated there "perhaps the most moving" of his life.[64] Illich was trying to safeguard the honor of the Church that he loved, not to

destroy it; he was trying to protect the souls of students, not to lead them astray.

CIF also served as a source of liturgical renewal for the Catholic Church, most notably in its creation of the "Panamerican Mass," also known as the "Mariachi Mass." Even before the liturgical reforms introduced after Vatican II, Bishop Méndez Arceo had encouraged CIF chaplain Lee Hoinacki to develop an experimental liturgy for the center, and Hoinacki created a concelebrated Mass that emphasized simplicity and accessibility. He eliminated many of the gestures that then were part of the liturgy and to emphasize unity employed a loaf of bread rather than the traditional wafers. Hoinacki "attempted to rethink everything at the Mass" and therefore designed the chapel, all its furnishings, and all of the liturgy to reflect "the celebration of the family meal that unites us in our joyful triumph through Christ."[65] In 1966 Illich asked Jean Marc Le Clerc, a visiting French-Canadian priest and musicologist, for some distinctively Latin American liturgical music. Le Clerc transcribed the melodies from sections of three Masses by Chilean, Brazilian, and Mexican composers so that they could be sung by a choir, but was not quite satisfied. Le Clerc and Illich then spent a night at the Plaza Garibaldi in Mexico City, listening to mariachi bands. They decided that the popular mariachi style could in fact carry the Mass. The resulting liturgy proved hugely popular, leading to overflow crowds in CIF's small chapel and then to a trial, also hugely popular, in Cuernavaca's cathedral.[66] As of 2009 this Mariachi Mass was still being sung every Sunday in the Cuernavaca cathedral, but after 1967 (when Illich was trying to minimize his Catholic profile) the center devoted little attention to liturgy.

Finally, those neo-missioners who survived his training course often did feel better prepared for service in Latin America. Sister Marlene de Nardo, for example, said, "What was so positive about the school was not so much that it prepared us for what we'd find; I don't know if anything could have done that. But it opened us up to possibilities. This was important to us, coming from the U.S. situation. Illich made it clear that we didn't have all the answers."[67] Charles Burton, who attended the first course in Cuernavaca, called it "the greatest experience" of his

life. He felt "more mature and better prepared" because of the training and because of "the dynamic leader and priest," Ivan Illich.[68] Even Cardinal Cushing, who had criticized the CIF and would criticize it severely in the future, had to admit that it was a "great project" and the "finest" missionary-training center in the Americas.[69]

In retrospect, we know that Illich stayed at the helm of his Cuernavaca center until 1976 and then developed an apparently fulfilling life as an itinerant scholar before settling with friends and colleagues in Bremen, Germany. But we should not be blind to the cost to the aristocratic intellectual, once seemingly destined for a high post in the hierarchy, of his decisions in the early 1960s. In 1962 Illich pleaded revealingly with Joseph Fitzpatrick to risk "total involvement" in CIF and in the struggle against the missionary initiative. The cost of committing totally to CIF would be "the loss of—or at least the risk of the loss of—respectability among your peers: both college teachers and perhaps scientists." "It means for you," Illich continued, "to abandon the institutional frameworks which now allow you to be courageous." It would mean exposing himself to "exile" both professionally and spiritually. "In a way," he said, "you might be the first North American priest who with full consciousness of what it involves (although more of it will come later on) joins the revolution."[70]

Of course, the risks that Illich was describing for Fitzpatrick were exactly the ones that he himself had taken. He had left behind the security of a traditional church career; he had lost academic and religious respectability; he had gone into his own form of exile in Mexico. The center was often on the verge of bankruptcy and dissolution, Illich knew well. "Many times," noted his colleague Lee Hoinacki, "the whole question of our survival lay in the delicate interplay between chance circumstance and our wits."[71] What is more, Illich surely knew that his participation in the "revolution" would cost him even more in the future. Sooner or later Considine, Cushing, and other supporters of the missionary initiative would discover exactly what he was up to.

CHAPTER THREE

BATTLE FOR INFLUENCE

In 1962, in the third session of the CIF, the priests in attendance wrote a long list of their complaints and sent it not only to Illich and Considine but also to Cardinal Cushing in Boston. An American priest already working in Mexico visited the center frequently and found that many students were suffering, some perhaps "for life," for several reasons:

> constant tension, lack of communication between faculty and students, lack of respect for any other apostolate, especially from the States and more especially PAVLA, the complicating of the simplest ideas and situations, frequent misinterpretations of motives, lack of reverence for the authority of bishops, lack of community at the center itself, treating of adults as children, covering up of mistakes and poor planning with the excuse that it is all part of the training, useless and quite often filthy movies with all obliged to attend, setting up unnecessary and harmful tensions among religious women.

When confronted with these issues, Illich insisted on the validity of his policies and said that he would continue on the same track "at least for three more years."[1]

The Cuernavaca center continued to generate controversy in the years between 1962 and 1967, but during this period it became just one of many fronts in a battle for the hearts and minds of would-be American missionaries to Latin America. The battle was a strange one, for Considine and his allies at the LAB did not appreciate exactly what Illich was up to or perhaps even that they were in a battle at all. At the same time, Considine and the LAB should have enjoyed a vast organizational advantage over Illich in their quest to fulfill what Cardinal

Cushing called "the Papal Program" to get American Catholics committed to sending 30,000 or 40,000 missionaries to Latin America.[2] At least at first, Illich had only a handful of individual allies and no institutional backing in his quest to undermine what he insisted was not a papal program at all.

Expanding the LAB

In 1962 Considine could look back with satisfaction at what he had accomplished over the past few years. His "ten percent for Latin America" plan had been adopted and propounded by the pope. He and Illich had established a training center in Cuernavaca. Most importantly, missionaries were streaming into Latin America: 675 more U.S. priests and sisters (for a total of 3,205) were serving in the region than had been serving in 1961.[3]

Latin American bishops had expressed some reservations about the influx of Americans but were generally supportive of the initiative. Bishop Manuel Larraín of Chile, for example, had warned that the American missionary initiative could fail if those missionaries were not properly trained to adapt to Latin American culture, but he believed, "There is a great and growing awareness of the missionary priests, brothers, and sisters from the United States, now numbering several thousands, who are devoting their lives to helping us in Latin America, of the need for cultural accommodation to make their sacrifice fruitful."[4] Bishop Alcides Mendoza Castro of Peru was even more enthusiastic about the American impact on his severely understaffed diocese, which received twelve priests from Cardinal Cushing's St. James Society: "Already they have worked a transformation which they themselves do not realize, in that they have introduced the possibility of a progress and a rebirth where none existed." No longer afraid of communists filling the spiritual vacuum in the diocese, the bishop concluded, "The vacuum doesn't exist anymore. These priests have filled it. They are God's blessing on my diocese."[5]

Despite these positive results, Considine slowly realized that Illich was producing an almost continuous string of problems and controversies. As noted in the previous chapter, Illich had no desire to be involved in the fundraising that Considine saw as necessary to the survival of the CIF. It was also becoming increasingly clear that Illich had different objectives and was in fact teaching what Considine now called privately a "philosophy of revolt." So worried was Considine that he met with Antonio Samorè of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America and "got from him that Illich should not be free to give his philosophy" at CIF. At the same time, Considine still believed that Illich had considerable talents that could benefit the missionary initiative. In his diary, Considine wrote that he had been forced to do "a considerable amount of thinking about what should be my procedure to get maximum good out of John Illich and yet avoid unhealthy pursuit on his part of his desire to make the thinking for the US program for US missionaries to Latin America."[6]

To make matters worse, Illich was also lobbying for major changes in the structure and function of CIF. In a memo to Fordham University president Laurence McGinley and other CIF board members, Illich had suggested that the CIF should separate not only from Fordham but also from all other ecclesiastical organizations. Illich was also being more candid about his understanding of CIF's mission: "It aims to prepare and influence men who are now in power within the Church or who soon will be in power. It is our aim not to tell these men what their decisions should be, but to make clear to them the alternatives they face."[7]

After much thought, Considine decided on a two-pronged approach. He would try to limit the damage done by Illich's dangerous ideas (while still making use of Illich's talents) and to develop alternative means of supporting the missionary initiative in Latin America. To accomplish the former objective, he faced Illich's proposals head on, explaining that the CIF, rather than moving away from the institutional church, needed to be known as "belonging to the vital mainstream of Church life in the United States." "Certainly," he argued, "much of the acceptance that CIF has received by the U.S. bishops comes from its Fordham attachment." Illich's new conception of the CIF had "the

air of a conspiratorial cabal." The solution was not further distance from the institutional church but exactly the opposite course: The CIF should be "formally committed" to the Pontifical Commission for Latin America, the Latin American bishops, the U.S. bishops, the Conference of Major Superiors of Men, the Conference of Major Superiors of Women, and the Mission Secretariat, which would demonstrate that the CIF was "dedicated to the mainline objectives of the established Church authorities."[8]

Meanwhile, Considine began working on alternative approaches to fulfilling the missionary initiative. First, he expanded the LAB from what had been essentially a one-man operation by naming Monsignor William Quinn of Chicago as his second in command; and in 1963 he added priest Michael Colonnese of Davenport, Iowa, as his chief administrator. Quinn toured Latin America in 1962 and heard repeatedly that American Catholics, despite their good will and growing presence in the region, still did not understand Latin America. In response, Quinn, Considine, and Colonnese developed the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program (CICOP), an annual conference on Latin America sponsored by the LAB. They hoped that leading experts on Latin America, most of them native to the region, could explain and publicize the most significant issues in contemporary Latin America.[9] "Its ultimate aim," indicated Colonnese, "was nothing less than a personal commitment, great or small—not paternalistic—by every U.S. Catholic to some form of cooperation with the church and people of Latin America."[10]

Considine secured funding with help from Cardinal Cushing, and the conference became a reality. A group of distinguished Latin Americans, including Bishop Helder Camara, Father Renato Poblete of Chile, and Marina Bandeira, the leader of an educational movement for the poor in Brazil, played a decisive role in organizing the conference, which took place in January 1964 at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago. Six cardinals—3 from the United States and 3 from Latin America—presided over 50 speakers and an audience that opened at 1,500 and rose as high as 2,300 for a presentation by Senator Hubert Humphrey.[11]

Monsignor Luigi Ligutti opened the meeting on a positive note that Considine definitely appreciated, calling himself "an optimist about Latin America" who believed there was "no limit" to the spiritual, cultural, and material advancement of the region. Archbishop Miranda of Mexico City praised the conference as part of the vision that had been presented by Pope Pius XII in 1955 with the creation of the Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericana (CELAM, the Latin American bishops' conference), had been continued in the meeting of Latin American, U.S., and Canadian bishops in Washington, D.C., in 1959, and had been furthered in the growing stream of American and European missionaries pouring into Latin America. "This picture," he said, "is being perfected by your meeting here."[12]

When the speakers did speak more negatively, it was usually in an area that could be implicitly or explicitly remedied by American missionaries. Renato Poblete, for example, characterized the Latin American church as being in "a state of mission" and a "state of emergency" in the area of religious education.[13] Cardinal Cushing argued, "No matter how we look at Latin America the first and foremost problem from spiritual viewpoint is the scarcity of priests."[14] François Houtart pointed to the desperate poverty of northeast Brazil, with its high levels of illiteracy and child mortality and life expectancy of only 30 years. Clearly, these and similar laments were seen by Considine and the LAB as excellent reasons for increased involvement by American Catholics in Latin America.

The two addresses that specifically focused on the role and recruitment of American missionaries did express some caution about who should go to Latin America, but, again, the underlying assumption was that many Americans *should* go. Considine was quite enthusiastic about Aristides Calvani Silva's "truly heartlifting" address on the required traits of missionaries to Latin America. Calvani warned that missionaries had to have respectful and flexible attitudes but concluded that, to missionaries with such attitudes, Latin Americans would respond "most delightedly and most generously." The whole world then would marvel at "two continents living together in understanding and true friendship."[15]

Chicago priest Leo Mahon, who had recently begun an ambitious team-oriented missionary program in Panama, confronted his listeners with the "weak" faith of North American Catholics and suggested that their Catholic schools were not as impressive as they thought they were. He posited that the missionary priest from the United States had to break free of this cultural baggage to become

1. a catalyst—not the substance of change;
2. a co-creator—not a functionary;
3. a thought provoker rather than a mere teacher;
4. a revolutionary—not a modernizer;
5. a discoverer rather than an administrator;
6. a brother rather than a father in the Christian family;
7. a man of divine rather than of ecclesiastical faith;
8. a creator of liturgy rather than a mere performer.[16]

This was a challenging vision: priest as revolutionary, priest as brother, not father. Still, it was a vision founded on the idea that American missionaries *would* go to Latin America. Mahon was not opposed to the missionary project per se; he opposed only methods and attitudes that no longer worked and, in fact, hoped that the North American missionary project would actually benefit the northern church by waking it from its materialistic, individualistic slumber. His plan for "revitalizing or re-establishing" the Latin American Church through the strategic and thoughtful deployment of American priests and other missionaries attracted significant attention at the conference.[17]

Considine, therefore, had good reason to regard the conference as a success. Viewed through the lens of his understanding of papal and divine intentions for Latin America, CICOP had done exactly what it was supposed to do. The Latin Americans in attendance generally felt grateful for the opportunity to speak freely. As Marina Bandeira said afterwards, "This is the first time Latin Americans such as myself have been invited to discuss these problems as equals."[18] The Americans in attendance had gained a clear understanding of the needs and opportunities in Latin America. Speaker after speaker had pointed to

the problems in the region and had indicated or implied that American Catholics could and should respond. The first CICOP, Considine implied, had succeeded admirably because it was part of a larger plan that had been laid out by two popes, supported by the Latin American Church, and inspired by God. He believed firmly that popes Pius XII and John XXIII had launched a papal initiative in Latin America and that the Church in the United States had a moral obligation to participate to the fullest extent possible: "The Papal program," he affirmed, "certainly calls for practical action on as substantial a scale as the bishops of Christendom feel it advisable to request."[19] There was every reason to expect that many in the audience felt the same way.

The CICOP conferences in the next few years continued along the same track. In 1965, for example, Cardinal Juan Landázuri Ricketts of Lima lamented the "enormous religious ignorance of the great masses of people" and the "appalling shortage" of priests and religious sisters, asserted that in Peru there was no missionary "more loved than the North American missioner," and concluded that "our needs are so vast that there is a place for virtually everyone who is well-intentioned and who possesses normal ability."[20]

Considine's second major initiative was to start another training center for would-be missionaries. If Illich was determined to spout his philosophy of revolt and to see Cuernavaca as more of a place for discerning God's will than as an actual spur to the missionary effort, another training center would be necessary.[21] Considine arranged for the Catholic University of Ponce, Puerto Rico, to host one-semester training courses for missionaries, just as it had done during the 1950s under Illich's direction. This caused consternation to Laurence McGinley, the president of Fordham University, who had put time and money into sponsoring the CIF and believed that the rival training program could sound the CIF's "death knell."[22] Considine tried to distinguish between the clientele of the two programs, suggesting that Ponce would focus on PAVLA volunteers and that Cuernavaca would attract a more academic group. His explanation was disingenuous, for he had called openly for McGinley to shut down Cuernavaca less than one month earlier and an internal LAB report on Ponce said that its purpose was

"to train priests, brothers, sisters, and Papal Volunteers" and made no mention of focusing on the latter group. In its first session, Ponce welcomed eleven priests, fourteen sisters, and nineteen lay volunteers.[23] Whatever Considine might have said to McGinley, Ponce *was* a rival to Cuernavaca.

Seemingly, Considine should have had little to worry about at this point. The missionary initiative was in fact sending hundreds of North Americans into Latin America; and he had succeeded in broadening the LAB's programs so that they were not so narrowly dependent on Illich. Even more importantly, the missionary initiative, including PAVLA, also enjoyed continued papal support. In the middle of Vatican II, the papal delegate in Peru, Romulo Carboni, briefed Paul VI on missions in Peru. "Once again," Carboni told PAVLA volunteers, "I was struck by the intimate knowledge which the Holy Father evidences in the affairs of Peru. Please be assured that you do not work alone. The Pope knows of you, he loves you, he is most grateful for the dedicated and fruitful work you are rendering to the Church in Peru, and lovingly he blessed you and your work."[24] The second CICOP conference received a similar message from Paul VI in which he endorsed the meeting and praised the American Church's "perseverance, continuity, and farseeing clarity" that already had brought 4,091 missionaries to Latin America.[25] Meanwhile, at the Vatican council, Paul VI devoted more attention to the Latin American bishops than to any other group; the region was clearly at the top of his agenda.[26] In the face of Considine's efforts and the pope's deep support, what could one man, even one as intelligent and wily as Illich, do to hinder the missionary initiative?

"God & Society"

Meanwhile, Illich was undergoing an experience similar to his Sahara retreat in 1959 and his pilgrimage through Latin America in 1960. Hospitalized in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1962 he had devoted himself to thought, prayer, and reading "five to twenty" books per day, "mostly speculative theology and great literature." The result was what he called

his "second conversion to theology." Apparently, Illich had for a time despaired of the possibility of "a theological synthesis out of which modern man could act." He had focused on the antithesis between "the transcendental God & society which is political." "What I am penetrating now," he told his friend Joseph Fitzpatrick, "is that little '&.'"[27] As in his remarks about the Sahara in 1959, the nature of Illich's new theological synthesis was not explicitly defined, but his life over the next few years clearly showed that he was ready to act.

Illich did not seem overly worried about Considine's complaints about Cuernavaca and brushed off Considine's reorganization suggestions, decrying only the ongoing "children's crusade approach to PAVLA" and privately dismissing Considine as indiscreet and indelicate.[28] However, among his list of goals for 1962, which included learning Portuguese, gaining the basics of Brazilian history and sociology, and studying economic development (fairly standard tasks for the lifelong student of languages, history, and the social sciences) was this final item: "should make personal contact as quickly as possible with Misereor."[29] Misereor was a newly founded German bishops' development agency that was committed to making generous grants to Latin American projects. Why was Illich, who had refused to do any fundraising for the CIF in the United States, seeking a grant from the German agency? The CIF was $32,000 in debt; was Illich finally taking financial responsibility for the center?[30] No, the grant, which CIF did receive, was designed to finance a new research program on "certain social problems in Latin America" and would not fund the normal operations of the center.

Illich now viewed the CIF library as the "heart" of the institution because through it he and his staff could "think with the Church [about] its continuous adaptation and change due to economic development in Latin America." He hoped that the library would become "the best research tool on modern pastoral theology in Latin America." This research, much of it designed to undermine the missionary initiative, would be published in *CIF Reports* and other CIF publications, including a planned Spanish-language journal on pastoral models. Also planned was an extensive bibliography on "the influence of Christian

doctrine on social economic or socio-cultural change in Latin America." When published, this bibliography would develop around CIF "a focus of the meeting of the best minds" on the subject and would give CIF "a certain influence or leverage in the development of religious sociological studies in Latin America."[31] Illich described CIF's goals in this area as an attempt "to encourage people who had the feeling 'We don't really need the gringo'" by giving them good arguments.[32] In other words, while Considine was trying to bring more accountability to CIF, was expanding the LAB, and was launching CICOP, Illich was trying to expand his own influence, working against much of what Considine was trying to accomplish.

From the beginning, Illich planned to extend his influence beyond the training center in Cuernavaca because the CIF alone could not thwart the missionary initiative. He knew that as his center became more controversial, church officials might send their personnel elsewhere; the center might even have to shut its doors, as was implied in Illich's comment in 1962 that he would continue his Cuernavaca program in the same vein for at least three more years. Therefore, in addition to dissuading those who came to Cuernavaca, he also needed to influence bishops, major superiors, academics, intellectuals, and other Catholic elites with his message of the futility, danger, and bad faith of the missionary project in Latin America. "We wanted," he said, "to gather sufficient influence among decision-making bodies of mission-sponsoring agencies to dissuade them from implementing the plan."[33] Illich did this most openly and controversially in his essay, "The Seamy Side of Charity," published in 1967 (it will be discussed in Chapter Five), but that was only a semi-climactic salvo in a long campaign that included the Cuernavaca center, a sister institution in Brazil for missionaries destined for that country, speaking engagements all over the world, meetings of radical theologians, and publications designed to reach different constituencies of the Catholic Church.

The most obvious way Illich spread his message was through *CIF Reports*, which CIF began publishing in 1962. The journal's "overall policy and direction" would reflect Illich's ideas and vision and would therefore focus on the "social, economic, and political realities" of the

Americas, especially of the Church. Its editorial staff—Belgian journalist Betsie Hollants, American writer Peter Brison, with Chilean Jesuit Renato Poblete as research director—was talented and experienced. Its advisory board encompassed some of the stars of the rising generation of progressive Catholic intellectuals, including French-Canadian missionary Gerard Cambron, Colombian priest Camilo Torres, and Belgian priest and sociologist François Houtart. In fact, the professionalism of the writers and editors and the progressivism and even radicalism of its advisors—Torres would soon take up arms against the government of Colombia—meant that *CIF Reports* could have an impact far beyond what might be expected from what was at first little more than the glorified newsletter of the underfunded CIF.[34] By March 1964 the journal had 1,393 subscribers, of which 412 were groups or institutions and 657 were individuals from the United States.[35]

The stated goal of *CIF Reports* was to foster dialogue between Americans and Latin Americans on Latin American issues from a Roman Catholic perspective by publishing translations of articles originally written in Spanish or Portuguese. This approach gave Illich the perfect excuse when readers complained about the radical or critical nature of articles in the journal: "Publication of a document in *CIF Reports* does not imply approval of the editors, only their judgment that the document is significant in terms of understanding dialogue within the Latin American Church."[36] The unstated goal, evident in every issue, was to diminish enthusiasm for the missionary initiative, especially among the fervent but unskilled. The first issue reprinted a warning from the Canadian Office for Latin America that simply being a baptized Catholic willing to travel to Latin America was not enough to solve the region's problems: "We do not wish to merely increase the number of people down there by sending more from Canada. We do need highly trained lay apostles who have special skills."[37]

In another issue, readers were cautioned that Chilean bishops could only accept aid from Americans under "certain conditions," that they wanted no "pet projects," and that they only wanted "highly trained specialists." Another problem was that Americans had been made "materialistic, impersonal, and un-Christian" by their society. The author

inquired, "Should we not ask what we really can offer Chile or any other Latin American nation?"[38] The fifth issue went even further, quoting Chilean labor leader Emilio Máspero, who believed that "What is now being spent in the training of people from North America—many thousand and eventually millions of dollars—would be much better given to laymen of Latin America." He called the training in Cuernavaca "brainwashing" and characterized the Papal Volunteers as "a huge invasion of men and women of good will" that might ultimately prove "disastrous." In a rare editorial comment placed directly after these words, Illich seemed to endorse Máspero's comments, styling him "one of the unfortunately few Catholics among the many in Latin America totally committed to social justice for the masses."[39]

When Máspero's comments led to numerous complaints that the journal was trying to destroy the Papal Volunteers, the editors wrote even more explicitly. They admitted that "it is quite true [that] a piece of paper can cut better than a knife," then said they were not against PAVLA, "provisionally at least." In other words, they admitted the damage done by the article, offered the necessary disclaimer of any destructive intent, but then added the enigmatic qualification, "provisionally." It was hard to avoid the conclusion that the editors were tempted to admit that they *were* trying to undermine the Papal Volunteers but did not feel ready to reveal their plans in the early years of what they knew would be a long campaign.

After various defenses of Máspero, the editors outlined three possibilities for the future of the missionary initiative: grinding to a halt because of "numerous uninspiring, uninspired lay associations of the North American Church," carrying on as a "costly, pious program of 'priest-helpers,'" or initiating the "rigor and intelligent planning" that would supply experts to exactly the places where they were needed. To the editors, the third option clearly took precedence over the second, for they believed that the chief task for Catholics in Latin America in the 1960s was not to work inside the Church but to build "a society in which Christ is totally present."[40]

To clarify what this new society might look like, *CIF Reports* featured "revolution" as the theme of its next issue. The editors insisted

that, although revolution was "rapid, radical, basic, and complete change," it did not necessarily entail violence and was a process to which Catholics should commit themselves. Some sort of revolution in Latin America was inevitable because "misery plus consciousness of it equal revolution," but an "authentic" revolution could only happen through "deliberate planning and ideological orientation."[41] According to Roger Vekemens, a Belgian Jesuit who had long been working in Chile, Christians therefore had to make a choice: "Everyone, you included and especially Christians, are [*sic*] ultimately with us or against us in this revolution of ours." Catholics had to enter the political realm, an area many were trying to avoid, but this was the only way to "change things from top to bottom." He concluded: "We only insist now that the revengeful and quite possibly destructive beginnings of our revolution will be authenticated by the new world we build in the future."[42] *CIF Reports* was giving the American Catholic a clear choice: work for revolution in Latin America or stay home.

CHAPTER FOUR

LIBERATING THEOLOGY

CIF Reports pointed out as early as 1962 the dangers of having the Church absent from "intellectual and management circles" and called for the "penetration of Christianity" into such areas by "Catholic intellectuals."[1] Another article lamented the absence of "Latin American philosophers or theologians of renown." It would be impossible to analyze the region from Christian perspective because there were "no centers of research or institutions able to foster it." Latin America's great need, therefore, was to encourage serious Christian thinking about its "particular situation."[2] A year later, Segundo Galilea appealed in the pages of *CIF Reports* for Latin American theologians to construct an "ecclesiology for Latin America" based on deep and personal knowledge of the region. "European and North American theological thought is not adequate," he claimed, and he therefore proposed a "center of religious sociology," "a center for Latin American theological thought," and "a Latin American pastoral institute" where the region's Catholic thinkers could gather to develop the needed knowledge, theology, and understanding.[3] After having his journal highlight these issues, Illich advanced the careers of progressive Catholic intellectuals, made Cuernavaca a sort of alternative research center for the region, and built a network of progressive intellectuals and theologians. In 1962, for example, Illich studied Portuguese in Brazil, then read Brazilian literature and social thought for six weeks with Bishop Helder Camara, who introduced him to the nation's leading Catholic thinkers.[4] He then "set up a think-group of very outstanding men" in Brazil and met with similar groups in Peru and Colombia.[5] As early as 1964 he was asserting that, although CIF had originally focused almost exclusively on "training personnel for Latin America,"

since then it had developed "an expanded program which emphasizes research and documentation."[6]

In 1963 Illich, even as he was rejecting official participation in CICOP, began to develop his own series of rival meetings and conferences. He saw CICOP as a pseudo-progressive movement that was foolishly collaborating with the U.S. State Department's development plans.[7] Rather than encouraging the sort of volunteerism and "development" that he saw as so damaging to Latin America, he wanted to form a radical alternative that would oppose the missionary initiative and similar North American mischief.

His initial thought was that CIF could host conferences and gatherings that would foster "personal, non-official contact" between North American bishops and "the most intelligent thinking men in Latin America," but eventually the meetings took on a life of their own and contributed significantly to the growth of liberation theology. In February 1963 he brought leaders of North American religious orders interested in responding to the papal call to Cuernavaca for a two-day orientation, then had the research director of *CIF Reports*, Renato Poblete, bring them "on a brief tour of ten Latin American capitals" in which he would put them in contact with "key Church officials."[8]

The second of these gatherings was scheduled originally as "an eight-day orientation session" (May 27 to June 4, 1963) on Latin America for the Canadian Conference of Major Religious Superiors to discuss "how foreigner Religious can best and most efficiently answer Pope John's repeated appeals for assistance of the Church in Latin America." It eventually grew to encompass a simultaneous meeting of the leadership of CELAM (including progressive bishops Sergio Méndez Arceo, Helder Camara, and Manuel Larraín) to discuss what Illich called the "delicate" matters of reorganizing CELAM and of coordinating a united response to Vatican II. Illich reported later that Camara's vision for the revitalized CELAM was "to oppose Rome—but totally at the service of the Pope." Also present were representatives of the American Conference of Major Religious Superiors of Women, the executive staff of the CIF, and progressive priests such as Renato Poblete, Segundo Galilea, Leo Mahon, and Joseph Fitzpatrick. In addition to the

personal bonds that formed among participants, Illich saw the CELAM meeting as especially significant because it produced plans for "four scientific institutes, the strengthening of CELAM, and an agency for development and promotion of pastoral model projects."[9] He believed that it was the first time that Latin American bishops had met "to recommend continental policies for pastoral development, each pushing into the background the needs of his own diocese and elaborating a plan which is of importance for the whole continent."[10] The success of the meeting demonstrated a remarkable development: "Latin America, occupation with it and preparation for it, has a revolutionary influence on Church institutions outside of Latin America. We can therefore ever more speak of the responsibility which Latin America has towards the world and which it is exercising through CIF."[11] In other words, the meetings had inspired Illich to reverse the original formulation of the purpose of CIF. Instead of preparing Americans to serve the Latin American Church, the center would now serve as Latin America's megaphone to the world.

Both Considine and Antonio Samorè of the Pontifical Commission on Latin America worried about this gathering. Considine had been invited but had refused to attend because of Illich's refusal to put CIF "under the bishops" and because of the meeting's unofficial character.[12] Samore sensed that something was going on. Why was neither his commission nor the LAB in charge? Why was his commission not even *invited*? The two churchmen found the decisions made there "unsatisfactory" and feared the creation of "an unofficial structure independent of the Latin American hierarchies and the Holy See."[13] Of course, an independent network of progressives was exactly what Illich was attempting to create, and he was experiencing more success than Considine and Samore were experiencing in their attempts to create an official network; Samore, despite his worries, did not quite understand what Illich was doing or he would not have authorized his commission to grant the CIF $10,000 just a few days after the Cuernavaca meeting.[14]

In February and March 1964 Illich invited a group of theologians, including Gustavo Gutiérrez, Segundo Galilea, and Juan Luis Segundo,

to Petropolis (a small city in the hills outside of Rio de Janeiro that was home to the Brazilian version of CIF and a Franciscan seminary) to meet each other and to begin the process of developing a Latin American theology at the First Meeting of Latin American Theologians, which scholars see as a key step in the development of liberation theology.[15] Gutiérrez had not yet coined the term "liberation theology," but he did unveil his concept of theology as "critical reflection on praxis."[16] According to sociologist Christian Smith, this marked "the first articulation of the theological methodology that would undergird and produce liberation theology" and the beginning of the "formation of liberation theology."[17] It was also exactly the sort of truly Latin American theology—produced by Latin Americans and based firmly on Latin American realities—that *CIF Reports* had been advocating. It is worth noting that, even though Illich played a major role in fostering liberation theology, he did not take the theology itself very seriously. He thought highly of Camara as a friend, bishop, and activist but referred to "his foolishness and statements I couldn't agree with on liberation and such stuff."[18]

Although four European theologians were supposed to be guiding the Latin Americans at Petropolis, Gutiérrez stole the show. His presentation, although not yet a fully developed theology, served as a sort of road map to what liberation theology would become. He started with the issue of "How to establish a salvific dialogue with the man of Latin America" and proceeded along sociological lines, describing different social groups before critiquing the traditional pastoral methods as inadequate to reach what he viewed as the largest and most important social group, the oppressed poor. In the end he called for the development of "a theology that takes into account the process of social vindication which Latin America is experiencing."[19] In the succeeding years, he and others did in fact develop exactly this sort of theology, just as Illich had hoped.

Pastoral Liberation

Meanwhile, Illich participated in the most important Catholic meetings of the century, the second and third sessions of the Second Vatican

Council. He did meet Latin American theologians there but, more importantly, the experience seems to have influenced his later attitudes toward church authorities. He served as an advisor to the committee of four cardinals, led by Leo Joseph Suenens of Belgium and including Grégoire-Pierre Agagianian of Armenia, Giacomo Lercaro of Italy, and Julius Dopfner of Germany, who were appointed by Paul VI to moderate the council. After meeting with this group, who were seen at the time as "highly progressive," every day during the second session (fall 1963) and the third session (fall 1964), Illich told Suenens, "I'm leaving now. Yesterday you proved to me that this Council is incapable of facing the issues which count, while trying hard to remain traditional." He was dismayed that the Church "could not as yet condemn governments for keeping atomic bombs, that is for keeping tools of genocide."[20] Before returning to Cuernavaca, he spent some time in reflection at Greece's Mount Athos, the center of Orthodox monasticism that is home to twenty monasteries and is accessible only by boat.[21] As was his custom, Illich did not reveal the details of his thoughts and decisions during this retreat, but in retrospect this seems to be the point at which Illich lost respect not just for the council's attitude toward nuclear weapons but also for the hierarchy in general. If the princes of the church were so timid that they could not condemn so obvious an evil as nuclear weapons, if they were going to act in so pragmatic a fashion, he would have few qualms about defying what he believed were illegitimate demands. He later said of the American bishops, "This is a time for martyrdom, not for solemn committee statements. Because of the methods by which their positions are arrived at, they cannot, by definition, take the moral stance which corresponds to the vocation implied by the Gospel."[22] He came to believe that Church officials had been so infected by the plague of institutionalization that they were incapable of thinking and acting in a truly Christian manner.

A second meeting of the Latin American theologians, in July 1965 at the CIF campus in Cuernavaca, responded to a suggestion from Petropolis that Latin American theologians needed to develop the topic of Christology. Francisco Bravo, José Comblin, Segundo Galilea, Illich, and others discussed "the most appropriate way to present Christ to

the men of today." According to Comblin, the renewal of a Church mired in legalism and superstition depended on a revised Christology that would emphasize eschatology, the humanity of Christ, and "the presence of Christ in the community." Illich believed that the key to the new Christology was to present Christ to a community in terms and images from its own "conceptual universe," using the approach of Paulo Freire.[23]

Illich also encouraged the development of a new pastoral approach that was, in historian Enrique Dussel's words, the "second stage" in the development of liberation theology. He opened up CIF's resources to the newly formed Advanced Institute for Latin American Pastoral Methods (Instituto Superior de Pastoral Latino Americano or ISPLA, also known as the Instituto Pastoral Latinoamericano or Latin American Pastoral Institute) that would devote itself to developing "vernacular pastoral methods in a prophetic, servant, Church of the poor." The institute was not officially a part of CIF, but it was a product of CELAM meetings that Illich had sponsored at Cuernavaca; its director, Segundo Galilea, worked for CIF and wrote for *CIF Reports*; and it was located at the CIF campus in Cuernavaca, even sharing a post office box with CIF. Betsie Hollants, one of the *CIF Reports* writers and a CIF board member, also served on the institute's planning team. In 1965 Illich and Galilea taught the new pastoral approach in Cuernavaca, and in 1966 Illich joined Juan Luís Segundo to teach it in Ecuador.[24] As CIF evolved into the more secular CIDOC, it could no longer be associated with openly ecclesiastical institutions, so the Latin American bishops took over the operation and moved it to Quito, Ecuador.[25]

CIF Reports also published the precursors and early examples of liberation theology. For example, Bishop Bernardino Piñera articulated some ideas that would later feature prominently in that theology, calling for "preaching that is more related to the Bible and Gospel" and "liturgy that the people understand" in the pages of *CIF Reports* in 1962. "At the same time," he continued, "we must disentangle ourselves little by little from the support of the powerful" because it would be preferable "to be seen as poor rather than as benefactors of the poor."[26] In the same issue, another article asserted that the church was "a great

unknown" to most Latin Americans and had often "allied itself with classes and groups which have no link with the masses."[27] A later issue contrasted Catholicism, "the religion of the rich, the landlords," rather unfavorably with Protestantism, a "religion of the poor" that demonstrated the beginnings of "class struggle."[28]

Later in 1962, Segundo, soon to be one of the leading theologians of liberation, used social science data and Marxist concepts to postulate that Latin American Catholics had to come to terms with pluralism. They might not applaud the growth of secularism, socialism, Protestantism, and other non-Catholic ideologies, but they had to face the reality that their societies would no longer be Catholic in an all-encompassing sense. Rejecting governments and organizations because they were not Roman Catholic was for Segundo an unsatisfactory option. Instead he called for Catholics to cooperate with those of other ideologies. To stay isolated in a small, Catholic world would be to "mutilate" Christianity.[29]

Just as Gutiérrez would later do in his more mature liberation theology, *CIF Reports* based the emerging Latin American theology in history.[30] In the same way that a more mature liberation theology would ground itself in specific histories of oppression and dependence, *CIF Reports* prefigured this approach by telling a particular history of the region that emphasized "corruption," "underdevelopment," and "disintegration." This history was presented not as a mere report on the past but as a teleological account in which the conditions were "ever more ready for revolution."[31] Similarly, just as liberation theology would tend, at least implicitly, to reject capitalism and to endorse some form of socialism, *CIF Reports* published an economic analysis that stated "the capitalistic concept of business as the sole 'property' of the owners of the means of production is wrong" and proposed that "every enterprise must be directed to the common good and to the good of each factor in production."[32] And just as liberation theology would use Marxian concepts and methodologies, *CIF Reports* editor Peter Brison seemed to adopt the perspective of a book by Leslie Dewart that minimized the danger of communism: "Dewart shows that Communism as found in history

is not something to oppose but something to redeem, to purify, to Christianize if you will."[33] Similarly, the journal quoted Chilean bishop Raúl Silva Henríquez: "This citizen whom some of you may call 'revolutionary' is, let us say with all respect for proportion, the prototype of modern man."[34]

Liberation and Mission

During the mid-1960s Illich was "the consummate leadership figure" for the Latin American church and excelled at "bringing together 'idea' persons."[35] His Petropolis meeting formed an informal network of theologians that would have a "series of informal meetings over the next four years," including Bogotá, Havana, and Cuernavaca meetings in 1965 alone. In that year CIF boasted progressive Catholics Marina Bandeira, Gerard Cambron, François Houtart, Emile Pin, Renato Poblete, Juan Luis Segundo, and Mario Zanartu as members of its academic staff.[36] This network of Catholic intellectuals, which overlapped with similar networks formed by Vatican II and by CICOP, often participated in CIF training sessions and played a major role in the preparation for the second general meeting of CELAM in Medellín in 1968 (CELAM II), perhaps the most crucial event for the Latin American Church in the twentieth century.[37]

The Second Vatican Council (1962–65) had been particularly challenging for Latin America because of the traditionalism and defensiveness of much of the Latin American Church at the time and because of CELAM's especially rigorous response to the council's teachings. In 1966 Manuel Larraín of Chile and other bishops resolved that the 1968 meeting of CELAM not only would use Vatican II's own "facts/reflection/recommendations" model but also would feature many more representatives than previous meetings. The former change "represented a shift from a perspective that was dogmatic, deductive, and top-to-bottom to one that was exploratory, inductive, and bottom-to-top," while the latter change made the conference much more democratic than before.[38]

In the two years before the 1968 meeting, CELAM's various departments, including members of Illich's intellectual network, met to prepare for Medellín by studying issues such as catechesis, education, missions, and social justice. "The dynamics of their meetings," says Edward Cleary, "were such that advances in theological and practical thinking were made rather easily." They produced "conclusions that were later taken for granted by the Medellín participants" to the extent that "the conference outcome was being determined even before the conference began."[39]

Meanwhile, in 1967 Paul VI released an encyclical, *Populorum Progressio*, that dealt specifically with many of the issues, such as poverty and development, with which the Latin American intellectuals were most concerned. Inspired in part by his first-hand experience of Latin America, based on a visit in 1960 (before he was pope), Paul denounced the "less than human conditions" of those who lived in material poverty, under oppressive political structures, and in situations of economic exploitation. He also criticized an international system in which, "lacking the bare necessities of life, whole nations are under the thumb of others." Finally, he said, "the present state of affairs must be confronted boldly, and its concomitant injustices must be challenged and overcome." The goal was "an economic order designed for the welfare of the human person."[40] Previous popes had broached economic and social issues, but Paul's explicit call to confrontation seemed to many Latin Americans to be directed specifically to them and their region.[41]

At Medellín in 1968 most of the presentations on which CELAM's eventual conclusions were based came from theologians, such as Gustavo Gutiérrez, José Comblin, and Eduardo Pironio, who would later be known for creating and popularizing liberation theology.[42] In fact, CELAM's conclusions featured the words "liberate" and "liberation" used both spiritually and in a broader sense, as liberation theology would use them. The statement on justice asserted that Christ came "to liberate men from all slaveries to which they have been subjected by sin, ignorance, hunger, misery, and oppression." It also mentioned the goal of Latin America's "liberating itself from neocolonialism."[43] The overall effect of CELAM II was to push the

Latin American church toward the poor and away from the rich and to give it the philosophical resources to confront injustice. "In sum," says Cleary, "a new ideology for the Latin American church had been born. Progressive thinkers had assumed intellectual leadership of the church and set it on a new course of change."[44] Of course there were many individuals and groups within the church who made this result possible, but Illich's contribution in organizing a key intellectual network should not be forgotten, especially since his *CIF Reports* was simultaneously publicizing the precursors and early examples of the theology.

The relationship of liberation theology to Illich's campaign to undermine the missionary initiative is not clearcut, but the development of the new theology tended to complement his efforts. Most liberationists sided with Camara, who believed that "Latin America's number one problem is not lack of priests! It's economic development."[45] José Comblin, a Belgian priest who had long worked in Brazil, could have been reading from Illich's essay "The Seamy Side of Charity" when he wrote in preparation for CELAM: "Institutions have been set up which can only survive because money is brought in from abroad. Foreign aid thus becomes a major factor of alienation by a creating a new kind of dependence . . . alms of this kind foster an ill-disguised attitude of begging in the clergy . . . the Church is becoming colonial."[46]

Convinced liberationists from the north might still trickle into Latin America, but their numbers would be small (since liberation theology would never be a dominant theology in the north) and when they did come they would have attitudes more acceptable to Illich and his circle. They surely would not serve as the sort of "colonial power's lackey chaplain" that he would famously denounce in "The Seamy Side of Charity" but would form part of the only groups referred to positively in that essay, the "courageous and imaginative few—non-Latins among them—who see, study, and strive for true reform."[47] That last phrase, "see, study, and strive for true reform," refers to the "see, judge, act" basis of CELAM II and liberation theology, later referred to as theological reflection on praxis. In effect, Illich thus "baptized" northern liberationists as legitimate missioners.

Another general result of the development of liberation theology was, as noted above, its gradual rise to the position as the default theology of the progressive wing of the Latin American church at a time when the progressive wing was especially influential. Additionally, liberation theology has a general (but not total) orientation toward local or national solutions. That is, the solution to Latin America's condition of dependence and oppression was not massive foreign aid, even spiritual aid. The desired solution was often some sort of national liberation that was understood in the sense of revolution and creation of new structures. North Americans who were familiar with the liberationist argument thus would think twice about heading to Latin America.

On the other hand, the rise of liberation theology was not entirely helpful to Illich's anti-missionary project. The radicalism of some versions of liberation theology, including the use of Marxist concepts, the call for revolution, and the assertion that Christians had to choose sides in the class struggle, meant that two sectors of would-be missionaries moved out of Illich's reach and actually had a new rationale for mission. First, traditionalists and conservatives, who might have listened to moderate attacks on the missionary initiative, rejected out of hand the radical liberationist perspective, found conservative and traditional allies in Latin America, and continued coming to the region. Second, Protestant evangelicals, some of whom had shown interest in Cuernavaca in its early days, generally ignored or rejected liberation theology—which appealed even less to them than traditional Roman Catholicism did—and continued sending missionaries to Latin America.[48]

Two Servants of the Church

To all appearances, Illich and Considine were not rivals or enemies in the mid-1960s. In 1963 both men expressed the desire to work together and to let bygones be bygones. For Considine this stemmed from the belief that, although Illich had some dangerous ideas, his many talents were still a net benefit to the church. At the time, Illich seemed to have a similar view of Considine, telling him, "Frequent differences in

opinions between you and me have strengthened rather than weakened our mutual respect."[49]

A few months later, though, Illich seemed shocked to find that Considine was discouraging some individuals and organizations from sending their people to Cuernavaca and came close to blaming him for low registration in the next session. He began to call Considine an "inefficient" and unintelligent CIF board member and to discuss ways to reform the board.[50] Since Illich was actively undermining the missionary initiative, Considine's lack of enthusiasm for Cuernavaca was hardly surprising. For his part, Considine regretted Illich's "decision not to be helpful" but remained committed to the missionary initiative: "Only last January Pope Paul in his apostolic letter to the bishops of the United States spoke strongly in favor of lay volunteers for Latin America. There's no pulling out even if anybody thought of doing so."[51] In other words, Considine remained absolutely convinced of the pope's support for missions in Latin America.

The problem was that Illich also believed that he had the pope's support. After an article in *CIF Reports* on the controversial topic of monks undergoing psychoanalysis had provoked serious concerns in the Vatican, Illich had insisted on his policy of publishing whatever he thought helpful to understanding the Latin American Church. "This strong and unequivocal attitude produced absolute top-level discussion of my trustworthiness," Illich reported to his friend Joseph Fitzpatrick. "It resulted in a *motu-proprio* [of his own accord] statement by Paul to his visitor: 'Tell Illich to remain steadfast in the manner in which he serves the Church.'"[52]

In later years Illich came to characterize Considine as "an American manipulator, journalist, and priest" who had succeeded in "inveigling" Pope John XXIII into endorsing the missionary initiative in Latin America. Illich claimed that from the beginning he had seen Considine's plan for PAVLA as "an obvious, easily understandable caricature, as a *corruptio* of the mission given by Jesus to the apostles."[53] These harsh judgments against a man with whom Illich had worked closely and a plan that John XXIII and the Pontifical Commission for Latin America clearly had endorsed might have become somewhat exaggerated in

retrospect: If Illich had always felt this way, such opinions would have allowed little or no room for the collaboration that Illich continued to extend to Considine.[54] Whether or not Illich's views were quite as clear at the time as he liked to think they were thirty years later, it is safe to say that in the mid-1960s he and Considine were working on two different and contradictory projects.

Considine and Illich, each believing he had the pope's support for his own plans, operated under a sort of truce during 1965. In 1966 Considine resigned from the CIF board, probably having given up any hope that Cuernavaca would become the type of training center that he had envisioned.[55] In 1967 Illich attacked Considine publicly in "The Seamy Side of Charity." Their strange partnership was over.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRISIS

> *If there is any statement about our faith in any of my writings that, in the judgment of the Holy See, and to my shame, were [*sic*] considered erroneous, please tell me and I will immediately and without debate declare my complete submission in the matter.*
>
> Ivan Illich, 1968[1]

In August 1966 Illich wrote to Pope Paul VI, asking for an audience to talk about the missionary initiative in Latin America. Helder Camara, the most influential Brazilian bishop, and Father Rene Voillaume, founder of the Little Brothers of Jesus, would gladly vouch for him and the importance of his message, he said. When the pope did not respond, Illich embarked on the second stage of his anti-missionary crusade. By the end of that year his center would have hosted 830 priests and 500 religious sisters and his writings and conferences would have reached many thousands more, but now Illich was ready to reach a much larger audience with his anti-missionary message.[2] Where the first stage of his anti-missionary project (roughly, 1961–66) had been narrow enough that there were many Catholics in the Americas, even among those interested in missions, who were unfamiliar with his arguments, the second stage would make the battle more public and explicit and would make Illich a pariah to some and a prophet to others. Meanwhile, anti-missionary views spread to many segments of the church in Latin America, the United States, and Europe.

In preparation for the controversy he knew was to come, in 1964 Illich had given Cuernavaca a second "center" with a new and less religious name, the Centro Intercultural de Documentación

(CIDOC, Intercultural Documentation Center), and had started conferences with an apparently secular orientation, such as one on education in July of that year. At first the two institutions coexisted as "CIF-CIDOC," but around 1965 CIDOC became dominant and CIF and its direct ties to the institutional church began to wither away. By 1967, CIDOC was publishing over sixty volumes per year of specialized Latin American material in series such as *CIDOC Dossiers*, *CIDOC Sondeos*, and *CIDOC Informa* and was running the Institute for the Study of the Contemporary Transformation of Latin America, the Orientation Cycle on Latin America, a language school, and CIDOC Colloquiums. According to CIDOC director Valentina Borremans, CIF served only as a foundation that "arranged for certain donations or scholarships."[3] Although in later years CIDOC would present itself as thoroughly secular, in its early years it was openly Catholic. For instance, a Christmas greeting from 1964 on "CIF-CIDOC" letterhead featured photos of priests Ivan Illich and Lee Hoinacki and two religious sisters and presented a detailed "biblical cycle" in which the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, and many other biblical events were presented inside a Christianized Aztec calendar.[4]

In July and August 1966 Illich and one of his closest colleagues at CIF, the Dominican priest Ceslaus "Lee" Hoinacki, did some of the teaching at a catechetical institute in Mexico City. Their words created a storm of controversy when Hoinacki asserted that "religious life governed by vows destroys personality and creates abnormal beings" and "communal life in seminaries and religious congregations destroys personality." Illich compared nuns to prostitutes, since both gave up private love for "openness to all," and discussed the parallels between convents and brothels.[5] Their comments were little different from what they had been saying for years at CIF, but to many Mexicans they were scandalous. That Illich and Hoinacki would share such ideas outside the confines of Cuernavaca signaled not so much a radicalization of their thinking as much as an increased willingness to provoke controversy in public.

"The Seamy Side of Charity"

In 1966 Illich sent the *National Catholic Reporter* an article attacking the missionary initiative in general and the LAB and its CICOP conferences in particular, but the article was returned to him as "needlessly polemical." A friend in the *National Catholic Reporter* office sent a copy of the article to Considine and Colonnese in the LAB office but they were not especially worried about it because they had heard most of Illich's criticisms before and Colonnese, at least, agreed with many of them. But neither Colonnese nor Considine was ready for the way in which Illich would unveil those criticisms. Having declined the *National Catholic Reporter*'s offer to resubmit a milder version, Illich sent the article to the Jesuit journal *America*, which not only accepted the article as written but also timed its publication to coincide with the opening of the fourth CICOP meeting in January 1967 in Boston. Illich sent his "secret weapon," Dutch journalist Betsie Hollants, up to the conference with 1,000 copies of "The Seamy Side of Charity," enough for every participant to read his inflammatory indictment of the American missionary enterprise.[6]

Illich had chosen his moment with care. He believed that his Cuernavaca center already had succeeded in subverting the missionary initiative among "the educated groups" in the American Church through its training programs and its publications; he calculated that less than one percent of American and Canadian clergy had heeded the call, a far cry from the ten percent asked for by the pope. Still, he detected continuing support for the initiative among the hierarchy and "uneducated Catholics" due to "an intense public relation campaign" by the LAB. The Vatican had rejected his insistence that only the most highly trained experts were needed. "It would be permitting oneself to be led into error," warned Cardinal Carlos Confalonieri of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America, to think that "only a few specialists, carefully chosen from many and endowed with exceptional qualities," could meet all of the region's needs. Most Latin American bishops, the cardinal believed, requested "with insistence" large numbers of Americans for "the more common sectors of pastoral activity." The Vatican

also continued to endorse the ten-percent-for-Latin-America proposal and believed there was a place in Latin America "for any and every zealous member" of a religious order.[7] Similarly, Romulo Carboni in Peru was telling anyone who would listen that "We must provide Latin America with more priests and sisters immediately."[8]

The combination of the CICOP gathering and an imminent exposé in *Ramparts* of the CIA's infiltration of student groups in Latin America convinced Illich that the time was right to stop the "enthusiasm" once and for all. "Under these circumstances," he argued, "public and intensive controversy had to be sponsored."[9] As far as CICOP was concerned, "It was meant to destroy that well-meaning organization, to delegitimize it by making fun of it . . . to destroy lies with laughter."[10]

The article succeeded admirably in provoking the hoped-for "public and intensive controversy." First, Illich condemned his former colleague Considine—not by name but in a manner clear to anyone familiar with the origins of the missionary initiative—for starting the program "on an impulse supported by uncritical imagination and sentimental judgment" and implied that he had falsely attached the word "papal" to "the program, the volunteers, and the call itself."[11] Second, Illich attacked the results of the initiative in Latin America. Foreign "aid" had drastically increased the costs of the Latin American churches and had made these churches dependent on foreign funds and personnel, resulting in a "patently irrelevant pastoral system" that was impossible to sustain without further aid. The aid itself was no more than "publicity for private enterprise and indoctrination to a way of life that the rich have chosen as suitable for the poor." The traditional Church in Latin America was so sick, he believed, that it needed "radical surgery," not the "aspirin" that Americans were providing; and the radical solution should come from within Latin America, not from the United States.[12]

Third, Illich confronted American missionaries for their self-deception. They should acknowledge that they were "pawns in a world ideological struggle," "a colonial power's lackey chaplains, and "undercover agent[s]—albeit unconscious—for the United States social and political consensus." They had to wake up to the fact that the missionary

initiative was part of a larger American program, including President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress and the U.S. Army's Project Camelot, an attempt to use American social scientists to bolster despotic Latin American regimes. They also had to admit that many of them were "United States liberals who cannot make their point at home," "traveling escapist[s]," and zealots too "apostolic" for their home dioceses.[13]

"Gift givers must think not of this moment and of this need, but in terms of a full generation of the future effects," Illich warned. For him, this long-term perspective meant that ending the missionary initiative was painful but necessary. He did not deny the real costs of cutting off American aid but believed it was crucial nonetheless and gave the example of his own actions in an area of Latin America where he had "stopped food distribution from sacristies in an area where there was real hunger." Angry missionaries said he bore the guilt of causing the deaths of dozens of children, but to him food distribution was a panacea that provided no long-term solutions, whereas his actions were the "radical surgery" that Latin America required. In the same way, he realized that his article would cause pain to Considine, the LAB, and missionaries in the field, but he believed that the pain was worthwhile if it put an end to the American missionary effort.[14]

To Illich the missionary initiative was the Catholic part of a larger U.S. charity project whose good intentions could not mask its great potential for destruction. The first sentence of the essay called the missionary initiative "a peculiar alliance for the progress of the Latin American church," a clear reference to the Kennedy administration's Alliance for Progress, an aid and development program for Latin America. Later in "The Seamy Side" he made the connection between Catholic aid and American propaganda more explicit: "The receiver inevitably gets the message: the 'padre' stands on the side of W.R. Grace and Company, Esso, the Alliance for Progress, democratic government, the AFL-CIO, and whatever is holy in the Western pantheon." He believed that, since the missionary initiative could not help but be confused with and connected to other American programs, it looked like a "baptism" of the Alliance for Progress, Project Camelot, and CIA espionage.[15] Although many American liberals might have seen the Alliance as a much nobler

endeavor than Project Camelot or the CIA, to Illich there was little difference. As he explained elsewhere, all three were merely "theaters of United States missionary effort" in which American "missionaries" were exporting not the gospel of Jesus Christ but rather the "American way of life."[16] To associate the Catholic Church in any way with the American project was to Illich a form of heresy.

The Response

"The Seamy Side" caused exactly the sort of reaction that Illich had planned. From the CICOP podium, one speaker characterized the article as seriously misguided and contended that missionary cooperation was beneficial to both the United States and Latin America because "cultures tend to grow in proportion to their exposure to cross-fertilization."[17] Cardinal Cushing, who had worked closely with Considine and Illich to finance the Cuernavaca training center, denounced the article as a mendacious attack on a papal program and "a grave injustice" to those involved in laying down their lives for Latin America. Pope Pius, he remembered, had begged him to send priests to Latin America.[18] He then read a letter from Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, apostolic delegate to the United States. Illich, said Vagnozzi, asked why the United States presumed to help Latin America. "One of the answers," Vagnozzi said, "is that the Popes have begged your bishops, priests, and faithful to do exactly that. Pope John alone in the four short years of his pontificate issued 33 public documents exhorting the Church in every country to send personnel and means to this area of world Christianity." To Vagnozzi, the American bishops' response to the papal appeal represented "a brilliant page in the history of the Church in the United States."[19]

Around the conference and around the United States, bishops, priests, religious sisters, missionaries, and would-be missionaries read the article and reacted with surprise, anger, confusion, and, in some cases, an unexpected degree of agreement. Not surprisingly, Cardinal Cushing stopped providing scholarships for CIDOC.[20] Another who reacted with anger was Joseph Heim:

> With one stroke of the pen, Monsignor Illich overrides a plea of the Holy Father, criticizes the North American bishops, insults the South American bishops, declares useless the efforts of missionary priests, nuns, and laymen in South America, and—to insure a hearing from the "in-group"—takes a few swipes at United States intervention in Vietnam. Thank God that Monsignor Illich wasn't on hand to counsel St. Paul, or the apostle would have been persuaded from ever leaving Palestine.[21]

Latin Americans, even those who agreed with some of what Illich was saying, also seemed to think that Illich had gone too far. Felipe MacGregor of Lima accused Illich of "working in ignorance of pastoral and sociological facts." Ricardo Arias Calderón of Panama said, "I am very sad. I know Monsignor Illich. I am his friend but I think he has been very unfair to the Latin American church." Even Illich's former collaborator at CIF, Renato Poblete, contradicted Illich's suggestion that American priests were working to foster dependency.[22]

In Mexico, *El Día* and *Siempre* printed the Spanish version of "The Seamy Side," which was immediately supported by the Jesuit Enrique Maza as a needed call for Latin America to solve its own problems. It was denounced by the traditionalist priest Joaquín Sáenz, who called Illich someone who "attacks the Catholic Church of the United States, the people and government of the American nation, offends the clergy and bishops of Latin America, tries to destroy traditional truths and doctrines of our Catholic faith, and, in the final analysis, associates himself with Marxism, whose dialectic he uses to convert the Catholic Church into a changeable and changing 'superstructure' at the unconditional service of the communist world."[23] Of course, "The Seamy Side" was *intentionally* exaggerated and inflammatory. Its purpose was to grab attention and to change behavior; it was never intended as a calm and logical exposition on mission.

Whether they agreed or disagreed, Catholics interested in Latin America could not avoid responding to the article in some way: "After the article appeared, few people, if any, could carry out their assignments without re-examining what they were doing, without asking themselves if, perhaps, there *was* something after all to what Illich was

saying."[24] Even the Latin American bishops felt compelled to reevaluate their use of American personnel so that they could give clear answers to the missionary organizations who were asking if they should continue to send missionaries. CELAM conducted an extensive survey of its national episcopal conferences and its seventy most informed bishops and concluded that the hierarchy "earnestly desires that this help be continued and even augmented." The Latin American bishops recognized many of the same problems that Illich had highlighted but concluded that the missionary nature of the Church and the practical needs of Latin America were reason enough for accepting Americans. The Latin Americans conveyed this message clearly to U.S. bishops at the Interamerican Meeting of Bishops in 1970 and even called explicitly for the continuation of Illich's hated PAVLA program.[25]

It should be mentioned, in fairness to Illich, that two key aspects of the article went mostly unnoticed. First, Illich was not arguing for the superiority of the Latin American Church over the North American Church. In fact, he styled the Latin American Church "a colonial flower that blooms because of foreign cultivation," "the ally of conservative politicians," and an "hacienda of God on which the people were only squatters." He claimed that an overwhelming majority of the Latin clergy served the middle and upper classes and used theology to justify the "cancerous structure" of a "clerical and irrelevant Church." To Illich the Latin American Church was a "sinking ship" whose demise could be postponed, but not prevented.[26]

Second, Illich was not arguing against mission itself. He decried cultural imperialism posing as mission, not the concept of mission itself. For example, in April 1967, three months after the publication of "The Seamy Side," he stated clearly that the "specific function" of the Church was "the annunciation of the gospel." Still less was Illich condemning the Church per se. He viewed "The Seamy Side" not as an attack on the Catholic Church but rather as a *service* to the Church. The problem that he saw was misplaced hope in human planning and a lack of trust in the divinely inspired Church: "Instead of believing in the Church, we frantically attempt to construct it according to our own cloudy cultural image." He provided a ray of hope in the essay's closing line: "In fear

we plan *our* Church with statistics, rather than trustingly search for the living Church which is right among us."[27]

More Controversy

In another attempt to save the Church from itself through mockery and hyperbole, Illich soon produced another controversial article, "The Vanishing Clergyman," which described the Catholic Church as "the world's largest non-governmental bureaucracy" and then called for the "disappearance" of the bureaucratic aspects of the Church. "The ordination of self-supporting laymen to sacramental functions," he believed, "would eventually destroy the bureaucracy." He did not advocate "essential" changes in the Church, but rather the elimination of "ridiculous restrictions" imposed by "the clerical mind." Many religious women already recognized the changes that were needed, but few priests did, because of "the retarded nature of the American clergy." [28]

Bishop Méndez Arceo, who previously had defended the most controversial resident of his diocese, this time came out against Illich. The bishop criticized the article for unfairly applying a critique of clerics in the United States to those in the rest of the world in an "offensive" manner. Even more dangerously, Illich had utterly failed to mention the "supernatural element, the enlightenment, and the human values" that truly could be found in the clergy. His intemperate words would discourage many priests, would harm the general public, and might turn Mexico and Latin America against Illich and his work. "Monsignor," he continued, "I personally know your disinterested love of the Church . . . [and] I have always respected your academic freedom . . . but, as this freedom has responsibility as its corollary, I should say publicly that (putting aside the essence of the article) its publication in Mexico, in its present form, has been a grave error."[29] Méndez Arceo's public rebuke might have hurt Illich's feelings, but it did not keep missionaries away from Cuernavaca. In fact, in 1967 the center hosted more priests than ever before, including twenty from the prominent Maryknoll mission society.[30]

The negative attention that Illich received led him to a novel approach to his ministry as a priest. "I've retired," he said in 1967, "from full time service to my diocese, so that I won't have problems of loyalty as I direct a scientific center that does not have a confessional identity and that consequently does not recognize ecclesiastical authority, or the authority of any bishop, or any political or religious group."[31] He even suggested that this had been the case from the beginning of his time in Mexico: "I told my superiors that I would not exercise my ministry while I directed the Center."[32] As would become more evident in the coming months, he believed that the linkage of the controversy generated by his articles with his identity as a priest was becoming a scandal that damaged the Church. He was not prepared to drop his writing or his center, but he was ready to lower his profile as a man of the Church.

In response to complaints about Illich's articles and ongoing accusations about CIF, Avelar Brandão, president of CELAM, ordered an investigation of Illich and CIF. Two monsignors, Lucio Gera of Argentina and Candido Padim of Brazil, interviewed him and his leadership team—Gerry Morris, Betsie Hollants, Valentina Borremans, and Alejandro del Corro—in Cuernavaca in September 1967. After long conversations with Illich and his team the investigators decided that, although Illich's articles were "excessive" and "sensationalistic," he was trying to be faithful to the Church. The more important issue for them was the status of CIDOC in the eyes of the Church. Illich and his staff had explained in great detail how CIDOC was legally separate from CIF, as was Segundo Galilea's pastoral research center. The report suggested that CELAM needed to be extremely clear about the status of CIDOC and its relationship to the hierarchy, but that, whatever the organization decided, it needed to keep an open dialogue with Illich and CIDOC. "I believe that I. Illich is not now a danger to the Latin American Church and that putting pressure on him could be dangerous," it concluded.[33]

Gera and Padim's report had tried to emphasize Illich's faithfulness to the Church, but if it accomplished anything, it focused the Vatican's attention squarely upon Illich and Cuernavaca, and not in a positive way. The Vatican soon warned Illich "to avoid excesses."[34]

Meanwhile, Illich's more public role was attracting the attention of rightists throughout Mexico who saw in him a personification of the progressive Church. During the summer of 1967 a group of right-wing students attacked Illich, and over the next six years he would be "shot at and beaten up with chains" and would experience "a lot of violent attempts" to silence him, as he later recalled.[35]

Meanwhile, disregarding Gera and Padim's call for dialogue with Illich, in late 1967 a number of Mexican bishops started putting pressure on Cardinal Spellman of New York, Illich's longtime patron, to call him home from Mexico, even as Cardinal Antonio Samorè of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America was pressuring the Vatican's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF), the successor to the Inquisition, to investigate Illich. Spellman trusted Illich implicitly and denied the Mexican bishops' requests, but he died on December 2, 1967, leaving the archdiocese of New York in the hands of temporary administrator John J. McGuire until Terence Cooke took over as Archbishop in March 1968. Shortly after Spellman's death, Illich, realizing that he had lost his protector, renounced his title of Monsignor and told Bishop Méndez Arceo that he would no longer be performing "pastoral and ministerial duties" in the diocese of Cuernavaca. He then also wrote to Guido del Mestri, the apostolic delegate in Mexico, explaining his actions and insisting on his continuing fidelity to the Church. His thinking seems to have been that, in light of the negative attention that his writings and actions had already provoked, he would lessen the scandal for the Church by distancing himself as much as possible from the Vatican, the hierarchy, and any kind of public ministry. He closed his letter with a direct address to the pope that emphasized his role—perhaps more apparent to himself than to others—as a dutiful servant of the Church: "I humbly kiss your ring and reaffirm my unconditional devotion and faithfulness."[36]

Maguire, citing pressure from the CDF and the threat of "canonical penalties," twice ordered Illich home to New York. However, when Illich wrote Maguire, "Will answer within the next few weeks," Maguire telegraphed back, "Pleased your reply [;] disregard letter," signaling that, although he would comply with the Vatican's orders, his

heart was with Illich. Realizing soon, though, that a new archbishop might make his position untenable, on January 16, 1968, Illich wrote Maguire again: "Be certain that as of today and of my own volition I will not claim any clerical privilege and, until further notice from me, I will not exercise any public priestly function." He did this "to minimize the danger of scandal," both because of his apparent disobedience and because of the scandal "which Church authority could give through a seeming lack of discretion."[37]

Lest the hierarchy interpret his actions as rebellion or defiance, Illich took pains to explain that he was honoring a five-year contract to CIDOC that he had signed with the blessing of Cardinal Spellman. To leave at this point would be to betray his many employees and students at CIDOC. Additionally, he affirmed his assent to the official teaching of the Church. "If there is any statement about our faith in any of my writings," he explained to the apostolic delegate in Mexico, "that in the judgment of the Holy See, and to my shame, were [*sic*] considered erroneous, please tell me and I will immediately and without debate declare my complete submission in the matter."[38] He had been offered opportunities to write two theological articles and to lead two religious retreats in January, but he had declined because they "concerned the faith directly" and he was trying to avoid any impression of speaking on behalf of the Church.[39]

These measures would not be enough to placate the forces mobilizing against him. In March, papal delegate Guido del Mestri warned Illich that Cardinal Seper of the CDF was asking for a report on Illich's thought and personality. When one of Illich's allies, Archbishop Avelar Brandão of Brazil, attempted to plead the merits of Illich and CIDOC at the Vatican in the same month, Illich said, "the path of dialogue was blocked."[40]

Unfortunately for Illich, there were several Mexican bishops who had resolved to rid their country of his troublesome presence. "The Cuernavaca Case" provoked a great deal of discussion at a meeting of the Mexican bishops on June 7, 1968, but not an official condemnation of Illich. More dangerous was a conversation between Brazilian Bishop Adalberto Almeida Merino and Illich that the bishop shared

with Mexico's apostolic delegate. On an airplane in Brazil, the bishop had had an informal chat in which Illich apparently had referred to his initiation into a polytheistic Afro-Brazilian religion, his ability to make "millions of pesos" by selling information on Latin America, his connections to various leftist politicians, his scorn for attacks on him by conservatives in general and Opus Dei in particular, and his intention to go to Rome "to stop the pope from committing the monstrosity of coming to Bogotá" for the opening of the upcoming CELAM conference. Bishop Almeida does not seem to have been one of those out to get Illich, but his report probably served as the last straw for those of his colleagues who were. They informed apostolic delegate Guido del Mestri of the conversation and he ordered Almeida to send him a detailed account. It is not clear exactly what happened at the Vatican, but it seems that this document, despite Almeida's disclaimer that he had merely had "a simple and spontaneous conversation" that was in no way an investigation of Illich, received more attention and exercised more influence than the official CELAM investigation by Gera and Padim, which, although critical, ultimately had affirmed the value of CIDOC and called for dialogue with Illich.[41]

Trial at the Vatican

As early as 1965 the Vatican had been receiving complaints about Illich. In that year Archbishop Paul-Pierre Philippe, secretary of the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of the Affairs of Religious, had complained to Illich about an article on psychoanalysis in *CIF Reports*. When Illich replied that publication did not indicate endorsement and that he would continue to publish all sorts of controversial articles in *CIF Reports*, Philippe and the prefect of his congregation apparently brought complaints about Illich to the pope himself. Pope Paul, Illich had heard, defended Illich and his service to the Church.[42] Unfortunately for Illich, Philippe became secretary of the CDF on June 28, 1967. Now the number-two man in the Vatican's doctrinal congregation was deeply suspicious of what was going on in Cuernavaca.

On January 8, 1968, Franjo Seper of Croatia became prefect of the CDF and shortly thereafter he informed Illich that he was under investigation. Seper never explained the reasons for the investigation, but it seems probable that Philippe's distrust of Illich, combined with the growing number of complaints from the Mexican bishops and the loss of Spellman's protection, spelled Illich's doom. On June 10, the apostolic delegate in Mexico informed Illich that Cardinal Seper had requested his presence in Rome, mentioning the rumor that Illich was involved in a polytheistic religion as the only matter under investigation. Illich could hardly have been surprised by the summons, but he was irked by the paucity of charges—he knew that Afro-Brazilian religion could hardly be the central issue. On June 17 Illich arrived at the Vatican for his trial.[43]

In the CDF offices, he kissed the ring of Cardinal Seper, whom Illich described as "very kind, very correct, most humane, rather apologetic . . . acting like a man obligated to proceed in a transaction which embarrassed him profoundly," and chatted with him in Serbo-Croatian. Then Monsignor Luigi de Magistris, another congregation official, led Illich through file-lined halls to an underground room where a man dressed in a black cassock, later identified as Monsignor Giuseppe Casoria, was waiting at a wooden table covered with newspaper and magazine articles.[44]

"I am Illich," said the accused.

"I know."

"Monsignor, who are you?"

"Your judge."

"I thought I would know your name."

"That is unimportant. I am called Casoria." From this inauspicious start, the trial degenerated further, with Illich declining requests to take an oath of secrecy and demanding that the inquisitors put their questions in writing. After much back and forth, de Magistris and Casoria left to consult Cardinal Seper, who agreed that Illich could have a copy of the written questions. The trial adjourned and later that day Illich

received a typed list of eighty-five questions at his old home, the Colegio Capranica. After sitting down to read the questions, Illich began to laugh at the bizarre charges and peculiar rumors that constituted the bulk of the document.[45]

The questions were organized in categories, such as "Erroneous Ideas Against the Church," "Unbalanced Conceptions of the Role of the Clergy," and "Subversive Interpretations of the Liturgy and Ecclesiastical Discipline," and included the following:

> Is it true that for you, priests and nuns who are faithful to Communism and to Castro give testimony to Christ?
>
> Is it true that you want a new Catholic Church, that is, a democratic Church, without doctrine, hierarchy, clergy, and pastors?
>
> Is it true that you suggest that for the future you want a Church confined to the social class of the poor only, a Church that excludes the rich from its membership?
>
> How do you respond to those who present you as petulant, adventurous, imprudent, fanatical, and hypnotizing, a rebel to any authority, disposed to accept and recognize only that of the Bishop of Cuernavaca?
>
> What do you say about the idea of modernist, revolutionary, and guerilla priests in Latin America, the ones who say that if the Catholic is not a revolutionary and on the side of the revolutionaries, then he is in mortal sin?
>
> Is it true that the various publications of CIDOC readily and avidly print articles containing communist propaganda, as well as qualified comments on religion in general, and Protestant and anti-Catholic thought in particular?
>
> What do you think of heaven and hell, and also of limbo?
>
> What did you have to do with the kidnapping of the Archbishop of Guatemala?
>
> What is the nature of your relations with Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes?
>
> Is it true that since 1960 there has been in you a dangerous general development of new ideas and disintegrating tendencies of a humanitarian and libertarian nature?

He was not facing a thoughtful inquiry into a specific theological deviation, but a sort of fishing expedition designed to find something, anything, that could be used against him.[46]

"The content of these questions, the framework in which they are presented, and their spirit are such that they render it a priori impossible for me to express my real thoughts," Illich realized. Believing that the charges against him were "cribbed from a CIA report" and that no answers would satisfy his interrogators, he wrote to Cardinal Seper that he had "a single, clearcut choice" about whether to defend himself or not. He considered the Church's treatment of him a "distortion of the Gospel, contrary to the divine principles which govern the Church, contrary to what has been decided by the Councils, and even contrary to the most recent and repeated statements of the highest ecclesiastical authorities." Nevertheless, he chose not to defend himself, living out Christ's injunction: "If a man asks you to lend him your coat, then give him your shirt as well."[47]

He delivered the letter to Cardinal Seper, who seemed more embarrassed for the Church than angry at Illich. "As we parted," Illich remembered, "he gave me an abrazo, most affectionately, and then a most extraordinary thing happened." As Illich left the CDF offices, Seper said, "Get going, get going, and never come back."[48]

These were the Grand Inquisitor's last words to Christ, Illich realized, in a famous episode from *The Brothers Karamazov*. In that story, Christ is imprisoned and sentenced to death after performing several miracles in Spain, "in the most terrible time of the Inquisition." The Inquisitor rebukes Christ for giving human beings free will: "But didst Thou not know that he would at last reject even Thy image and Thy truth, if he is weighed down with the fearful burden of free choice?" The Inquisitor believes that he knows better than Christ and that the Church needs to control its people. After a long series of accusations, Christ's only response is to kiss the Inquisitor "on his bloodless aged lips." Surprised, the Inquisitor releases his prisoner with the words mentioned above.[49]

If Seper had indeed been alluding to Dostoevsky, was he identifying Illich with Christ and implying that the charges against him were not

only baseless but also evidence of a church that had lost the spirit of Christ? If a cardinal and prefect of a Vatican congregation felt the need to conduct the trial of a man for whom he felt affection and whom he viewed as Christ-like, the pressure coming from other sectors of the Church must have been intense. The fact that Seper soon moved de Magistris and Casoria, the officials most intimately involved with the trial, out of the CDF suggested (but of course did not prove) that the cardinal had been displeased with their handling of the investigation.[50] Francine du Plessix Gray's belief that Illich's trial was the fruit of a "vast international network of secular and religious reactionaries whose machinations were as devious as they were medieval" cannot be too far from the truth.[51]

Always a Priest

After affirming once more his "complete submission to the Magisterium" and his willingness to make a public retraction of any of his statements that his superiors found erroneous, Illich informed Méndez Arceo, "For the good of the Church, it is my duty to end the scandal of these proceedings, even more for the inquisitor than for the suspect." He therefore asked the bishop to release him from any obligation to the diocese of Cuernavaca. This course of action not only made sense as a way of minimizing scandal but also reflected the reality of the changes taking place at CIDOC, which had moved from the Hotel Chulavista to a new campus at the Rancho Tetela, which did not even have a semipublic chapel (as Chulavista had had), and no longer housed ISPLA and CIP, organizations supported directly by the hierarchy. The center was "entirely laical and completely free of ties to the church." "Whatever the church authorities or the public media say against me," he told Méndez Arceo, "they cannot touch you or the Church directly." Illich also wrote to the archbishop of New York (still his official ecclesiastical home) and secured permission "to live as a layman without faculties for one year" and then "definitively" renounced his privileges and powers as a priest on January 14, 1969.[52] He told Cardinal Cooke of

New York, "I now want to inform you of my irrevocable decision to resign entirely from Church service, to suspend the exercise of priestly functions, and to renounce totally all titles, offices, benefits, and privileges due to me as a cleric," but he would not ask to be relieved of the priestly duties of celibacy and daily prayers.[53]

The word "cleric" signified for Illich affiliation with the Church bureaucracy and was not for him a synonym of priest. In other words, he *was* still a priest in his heart, as evidenced by his continued celibacy and priestly prayers, but he would not be performing public "functions" and "services," such as celebrating Mass or hearing confession. Indeed, Catholic doctrine asserts that priestly ordination produces an ontological change of identity that cannot be removed. As Illich well knew, priestly identity was permanent. Illich's continued priestly identity is important, as many have assumed that he was forced out of the priesthood, or even that he renounced Catholicism, when he merely ceased to play the *public* role of a priest and remained a priest and a staunch Roman Catholic throughout his life. "The priestly office," he had told Cardinal Seper, "is a free gift of the Lord through the Church; although it cannot be erased, it should not be exercised except in full communion with the Church and, even more, in its full confidence." As he said to Cardinal Cooke, he was renouncing his priestly functions "in the interest of the Church" and "to protect the Holy See from losing further prestige," not because he rejected the priesthood or Catholicism.[54] "It is canonically correct," he told Francine du Plessix Gray, "for a clergyman to divest himself of his faculties as soon as he becomes notorious."[55] Thus, when Paul VI asked Illich to stop speaking to groups of priests and nuns, he obeyed, going so far as to cloak almost everything he said about Christianity in metaphor and analogy until late in his life.[56]

Despite his renunciation of his public role as a priest, Illich planned to continue hosting missionaries bound for Latin America. In fact, he hoped that, now that he was no longer functioning as a priest, CIDOC could be judged for the quality of its educational offerings and for the "professional competence" of its graduates rather than the "religious, political, and social orthodoxy" of its staff. He had always been irked by inquiries about his faith and life as a priest that he found "indelicate,

if not outright offensive." Now, his "total abstention from all exercise of orders and jurisdiction" and his "refusal even to discuss matters formally pertaining to the faith" was leading to even more such questions, but he would keep his silence, expecting that the storm would pass and that the center would be judged eventually on its educational merits.[57]

There is a temptation to see Illich purely as a rebel, and of course there is a certain element of truth in this view, but as much as he rebelled against the ten percent plan or compulsory public education or many other institutional corruptions that he despised, he never rebelled against orthodox Christianity. His introduction to the controversial essay "The Vanishing Clergyman" illustrates his orthodoxy explicitly. The essay sparked anger around the world in those who assumed that he was calling for the end of priestly celibacy or even for abolishing the priesthood entirely. Illich, however, made clear that the changes he was calling for were "consistent with the most radically traditional theology." In fact, those who read the essay carefully could see his surprisingly traditional perspective. He did not want to say "anything *theologically* new, daring, or controversial" but to emphasize "*social* consequences." He therefore rejected the Catholic left's proposals for the priesthood because they were not "sufficiently faithful to fundamental traditional positions" and in particular did not recognize "the value of freely chosen celibacy, the episcopal structure of the Church, the permanence of ordination."[58]

Similarly, Illich's letter to Cardinal Seper directly after the questions for his trial at the Vatican was marked, surely, by his petulance and offended sensibilities, but also by his traditional theology. He objected to the form of the trial, yes, but also to the way in which its format made it impossible for him to express his deepest beliefs: "my faith in Christ the Lord and in his Gospel, my faith in the visible Church as it now exists and in its tradition and magisterium, my faith in the universal authority of the Roman Pontiff and in my bonds of communion with a local church and with its bishop."[59]

CHAPTER SIX

DECLINE OF THE MISSIONARY INITIATIVE, 1969–72

Condemnations, repressions, removals, suspensions and the whole gamut of official disapprobation of initiative can be most helpful for true renewal of the church.

Lee Hoinacki, 1967[1]

On January 18, 1969, Guido del Mestri, the papal delegate in Mexico, arranged to meet Illich and Bishop Méndez Arceo at the CIDOC campus. Del Mestri handed the bishop a document, which the bishop then gave to Illich. It was an order from the Vatican that prohibited all priests and religious from attending the center because it was "not at all adequate" to train such students. Illich said he was hurt that the congregation would act so harshly, "without mentioning the charges, much less the proofs." CIDOC's director, Carmen Pérez, had a more cavalier response: "CIDOC, as a civil organization, not a church, has no intention of commenting on this affair, which is of a strictly ecclesiastical nature." Since Illich was officially no more than the "honorary academic coordinator" of CIDOC, which was in fact now legally a civil organization with a board composed of secular academics, he and his colleagues could react with equanimity to the ban.[2] There was little more that the Vatican could do to him, but Pope Paul VI added a public rebuke a few weeks later when he rejected out of hand the idea of the "working priest," a direct response to what Illich had advocated in "The Vanishing Clergyman" and to what he actually had become.[3]

Despite all that he had been through, Illich continued to love the Church. He was saddened by the ban on CIDOC and by his trial, but

these human failures would soon be forgotten and overshadowed by the Church's "great contributions to beauty, truth, and knowledge." "Intellectually and culturally," he said, "I am rooted in the Church: I grew up in its traditions and I want to pass them on to the next generations." In other words, despite his great disappointment with the Vatican, Illich still loved the Church and saw it as his intellectual, moral, and spiritual home—and this would remain his attitude throughout his life.[4]

It is difficult to evaluate Illich's oft-expressed desire to avoid scandal for the Church. He told Betsie Hollants, Cardinal Terence Cooke, Guido del Mestri, the *New York Times*, and Méndez Arceo that his renunciation of his priestly role was designed to shield the Church from exposure to ridicule, but he also gave Hollants a copy of what he called the "impertinent, undignified, political, or just plain stupid questions" from the inquisition. He told her that, although he would like to avoid further scandal, she might feel it "opportune" to share them "in the very service of the Church." She, of course, did share them with the press, leading to the *National Catholic Reporter*'s immediate denunciation of the trial as "a stupid and cruel piece of intellectual tyranny" that demonstrated the survival of the "integralist mind" with its "non-historical orthodoxy" in the heart of the Vatican. In the same way, Illich said he was "terribly embarrassed" by the Church's actions, but he was not too embarrassed to decry "a grave and global accusation against a nonsectarian institution of higher learning" in the *New York Times*. Similarly, he stated, "We will leave it to others to express their indignation at the precedent-setting intervention of Rome into academic life," but soon had CIDOC publish a volume on the scandal.[5]

Influenced by Bishop Méndez Arceo's meeting with the pope in June 1969 and embarrassed by negative publicity about its arbitrary use of power, the Vatican soon reversed itself, allowing priests and religious to attend CIDOC if they obtained their bishop's permission for each course they wanted to take. Seemingly not having learned from or paid attention to Illich's assertion that CIDOC was a secular institution in which he was merely the "honorary academic

coordinator," the Vatican also asked Illich to step down as its director. Carmen Pérez, the actual director, found the Vatican's request "absurd" and reminded the press that Illich was only "on the margins of the situation" because he was not the director of CIDOC, but merely "like any other university professor" who used CIDOC's facilities.[6] Illich himself refused to comment, other than to say that CIDOC had "always" been a secular organization and that therefore the Vatican's judgments could have no direct effect upon it. He would continue to live his life "completely independently of any canonical authority, special to the clergy, be it legislative or otherwise."[7] He did not, of course, mention that CIDOC was a direct offshoot of CIF, which had been founded by a Jesuit university; he also failed to mention that the center was formed at the behest of the American bishops to train missionaries in response to the requests of two popes; nor did he mention that the center owed its very existence to John Considine's influence and to thousands of dollars supplied by the American bishops and the Pontifical Commission for Latin America. Cardinal Spellman, for example, had provided $25,000 and Cardinal Cushing $30,000 in 1964 alone. In 1965 the center had received another $20,000 from Cushing and two $10,000 loans, one from Fordham and one from the Loyola Foundation.[8] The academic staff listed in the 1965 brochure were almost entirely Catholic priests and laity, and included Catholic priests such as Gerard Cambron, François Houtart, and Juan Luis Segundo, whose areas of expertise could hardly be characterized as other than Catholic.[9] As late as September 1969, Illich was still a CIF board member and CIF was still serving as a financial conduit for CIDOC, and as late as 1970 Illich was privately referring to "CIDOC's purpose of preparing missionaries for service in Latin America."[10] Nevertheless, no one in the press or the hierarchy seems to have challenged his assertions. On the part of the American bishops, the reason for such reticence was probably a desire to dissociate themselves from controversy. By the summer of 1969 they had written off CIDOC entirely and were seeking to start a missionary-training center somewhere else in Latin America.[11]

Radicalization and Reorientation

Despite Illich's silencing and effective removal from the Catholic intellectual scene, his goals continued to be fulfilled. In October 1967 John Considine retired as director of the LAB; he was replaced in 1968 by his second-in-command, Mike Colonnese, a "talented, impatient, single-minded priest" with "an intolerance for those less dedicated" and "a tendency to stand apart, to challenge." Colonnese had clear goals for Latin America: "We want to help develop and liberate the Latin American peoples in a way that leads to full personal and communal enjoyment of their rights. To be valid, this can only be realized by action stemming from individual men as citizens of their own countries, free from all real and pretended submission."[12] He had developed an interest in Latin America during a stint as a Spanish teacher in Davenport, Iowa. As he came to understand the injustices prevalent in Latin America, he taught about them in his classes and in conferences that eventually attracted hundreds. He also developed increasingly progressive theological ideas and increasing scorn for the Church hierarchy, especially after meeting most of the American bishops at Vatican II, where he had served as a theological advisor:

> After dealing with so many bishops for so long a period, I saw through the veneer . . . I saw people who apparently believed strongly in the church. But those same people lacked commitment. The infallibility of the pope was unquestionable, but the destitution of one's neighbors could be ignored.

On another occasion, when rebuked by Considine for giving too much freedom to the lay editor of an LAB publication that offended several bishops, he responded:

> The bishops would simply have to learn that there was more than just a hierarchical point of view, that they were not the only men entrusted with the truth, and that laymen also shared in the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

Colonnese's radicalism and frequently antagonistic relationships with the hierarchy made him a dangerous choice for a position that demanded diplomacy and the ability to relate to American and Latin American bishops, but there was no doubt about his commitment to Latin America.[13]

When Colonnese took over the LAB he had no plans to soften his approach to the bishops or to anyone else. Some of his friends urged him to be more diplomatic, but to him diplomacy was equivalent to "lack of character, lack of honesty, deception, flattery." If bishops refused to do their duty, he said, "I'll be damned if I'm going to play games with them." In fact, Colonnese took the directorship with the intention of exposing the harmful effects of the American Church's "conscious or unconscious exploitation of culture, moral predispositions, irrelevant historical attitudes, non-responsive theology, and general non-adaptability." Early in his tenure he tried to do exactly this, calling in the press during a bishops' conference in Caracas to tell them that American bishops had chosen to stay at an expensive hotel rather than staying in a modest retreat center with their Latin American hosts.[14] This approach did not endear him to many bishops.

CICOP, the annual conference run by the U.S. bishops to drum up support for their missionary work in Latin America, got away from the moderates as early as its second meeting in 1965. In that year Helder Camara gave the most memorable address, praying, "Help us, for the love of the man who is poor, to wage a fight to the death against the causes of his poverty." He believed that the goal of CICOP was to expose "unjust social structures in Latin America" and to call Catholics to the "Social Revolution which everywhere imposes itself."[15] There was no outright denunciation of the missionary initiative, but speakers such as Marina Bandeira of Brazil did caution against "sending people to areas to areas where they are not essential . . . or channeling money into areas or organizations which will create new problems."[16] Talk of revolution—its necessity, its inevitability, its compatibility with Catholicism—was everywhere. Although the party line was that Christian revolution took place through nonviolent social change, the words of Camilo Torres, the Colombian priest who proclaimed, "The

Catholic who is not a revolutionary is living in mortal sin," appealed to many. Torres joined a guerilla force and then was killed in battle in 1966, so it was not always clear that the word "revolutionary" meant nonviolent change.[17] In 1968 the crisis for CICOP, the LAB, and the missionary movement in general deepened. Illich, not surprisingly, was at the center.

Under Colonnese's leadership, CICOP strayed further from its original purpose of recruiting missionaries for Latin America. After the 1968 meeting the editor of the conference proceedings admitted that "a great deal of interest and enthusiasm over Latin America has leaked away" and worried that many speeches had reflected a sense of "disillusion and despair."[18] In the most controversial of the year's speeches, Rubem Alves described Latin American society in terms of "masters" and "slaves" and justified the use of "counterviolence" to overturn the institutionalized violence of contemporary Latin American governments.[19]

Interestingly, Illich continued to view the meeting as an embarrassment to the Church, not because it was too radical but because it was irrelevant. He pointed snidely to the 1968 conference's large budget, its attendance by "minor bureaucrats," and its trendy speakers, who were "the current talk of Latin America's Catholic ghetto." The speeches themselves he found remarkable for their "tendency to incorporate Christian language into normative political statements" of both and left- and right-wing ideology. Most of all, though, Illich detected "a ring of disillusion and fatigue" caused by the Christian liberal's "frantic search for some social relevance which he feels he ought to have."[20]

CICOP soon dropped its missionary emphasis almost entirely. The conference might have been expected to offer extensive meditations, interpretations, and exhortations based on "Ad Gentes," the recent Vatican II decree on "the mission activity of the church," but serious theology of missions was almost entirely absent from what had become increasingly political meetings. According to "Ad Gentes," the Catholic Church was "missionary by nature" and had as its purpose evangelization through "the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." In light of the instruction in "Ad Gentes" that a "new set of circumstances"

might require the church in a previously evangelized area to consider "whether these conditions might again call for her missionary activity," combined with the calls of three popes specifically to aid Latin America, it is remarkable that CICOP paid so little attention to traditional missionary activity.[21]

By 1970 there was no hiding the controversial nature of CICOP or of the LAB's new director. Colonnese presented the goal of the conference as "conscientization for liberation," a reference to both Paulo Freire's pedagogy and to the emerging liberation theology, and saw its speakers as "the new generation of prophets and practitioners of change" in the hemisphere.[22] At the conference Freire himself rejected traditional education—"an instrument of domination" dedicated to "the preservation of existing reality"—and called for "an education for freedom" that would expose myths and lies.[23] Liberation theology pioneer Gustavo Gutiérrez examined the statements of progressive Catholics across the region and noted that "the term 'development' is gradually being displaced by the term 'liberation.'" This was for him a positive and necessary change that signaled the "desire of the oppressed peoples to seize the reins of their own destiny and shake free from the present servitude."[24] Similarly, Samuel Ruiz, one of Mexico's most progressive bishops, endorsed a reform of the hierarchy that would lead to "true collegiality, to forms of authority that will permit participation in ecclesial decision-making."[25]

With speakers quoting Che Guevara, employing the latest neo-Marxian theory of "double colonialism" (internal and external), attacking traditional Catholicism as "landholders' Christianity," and asserting that the legitimacy of violence was not even up for debate, the conference was certainly not what Considine or the hierarchy had originally envisioned.[26] But Colonnese felt no sympathy for those who felt threatened by talk of liberation and conscientization. This "knee-jerk" rejection of such terms was "irrational" and led to "a retreat behind fortresses of protectionist isolation." "The Latin Americans are demanding liberation, and North Americans insist on talking to them about development," he lamented.[27] To his critics he was unapologetic; exposure to progressive Latin American Catholic thought was the very

conscientization that American Catholics desperately needed. Judging from the words of Colonnese or from the conference proceedings, it would have been difficult to discern that just five years before, Vatican II, while affirming the importance of "charity in social or relief work," nevertheless had asserted "all must be converted to Him [Christ], made known by the Church's preaching" and "a necessity lies upon the Church . . . and at the same time a sacred duty, to preach the Gospel."[28]

The tenth CICOP took place in Dallas in 1973 with little pretense of being a part of a papal missionary initiative in Latin America. "The real purpose of CICOP '73," said the conference prospectus, "is to move beyond understanding and analysis to action for justice."[29] As had been the case since at least 1969, liberation theology was the assumed idiom and perspective, with Mexican bishop Samuel Ruiz going so far as to reject traditional theology as "conceptual, deductive, and abstract" and to assert, "The genuine theologians of Latin America, then—those who are grappling with our real problems—are the liberation theologians."[30] The real action took place not at the lectures but at nine working groups. One group called on the Church in North America "to study and work against the cultural imperialist penetration of Latin America." Another affirmed Latin Americans' "total right to freely utilize whatever socialistic forms they may choose." This latter resolution enjoyed "nearly unanimous" support from the entire conference. Further resolutions condemned multinational corporations and requested that "the church cease to present, support, perpetuate, and sanctify . . . a pattern for women which is drawn from the social and cultural conditions of the first century A.D."[31]

One group reflected on the future of CICOP itself. Future conferences should be planned by "grassroots Christian workers" as much as by bishops; these planners should "break out of the negative and dependent effects of the logic that those who fund such conferences should have the sole right to determine the content and conditions thereof." Future conferences should adopt an interactive format in which speakers would become "resource persons" responsible for "dialogue, response, and reaction to questions and challenges from other participants."[32] In short, as controversial as CICOP '73 was, its participants

envisioned still more radical versions in the future. It does not seem to have occurred to them that the American bishops were unlikely to continue funding anything like the 1973 meeting, much less a more revolutionary version. In fact, this would be the most radical CICOP, and not unrelated, the last CICOP, and it was evidence of Illich's substantial success in undermining the Catholic missionary initiative in Latin America. There, at a conference started to recruit American Catholics for missionary service in Latin America, such service was now peripheral. Illich had contributed to this situation by sending missionaries home from his training center, mocking the missionary initiative in the press, and fostering the growth of liberation theology, which became the default theology of progressive Catholics in the region and which put a greater emphasis on structural justice than on individual conversion.

Meanwhile, currents in the larger Church were becoming more favorable to Illich's perspective. In 1967 Pope Paul VI issued the encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, which agonized over the poverty and injustice that afflicted much of the world and asserted that the developed nations of the world had a responsibility to share with the rest of the world. Whereas Vatican II had asserted the principle that "under the leadership of justice and in the company of charity, created goods should flow fairly to all," Paul went so far as to say, "All other rights, whatever they may be, including the rights of property and free trade, are to be subordinated to this principle." More specifically—and in words seemingly tailored to fit Latin America's circumstances—he called for the expropriation of "extensive, unused, or poorly used" landed estates if they obstructed the "general prosperity" of a nation. In another nod to Latin America, Paul explained Third World poverty by using dependency theory, a concept proposed by Latin American economists who blamed the region's poverty on its export of cheap raw materials and import of expensive finished products from the developed world. "It is evident," he added, "that the principle of free trade, by itself, is no longer adequate for regulating international agreements." Economic liberalism recognized the validity of any voluntary transaction, but to Paul, "Market prices that are freely agreed upon can turn out to be most unfair."[33]

Paul was making a clear case for a new sort of world order and a new sort of order within nations that was not based on competition and did not privilege private property. This vision was not antithetical to the missionary initiative, but it stressed economic redistribution and social justice in a way that many interpreted as lessening the importance of missions. CELAM's meeting in 1968 in Medellín, which focused on similar themes of justice and care for the poor, confirmed this emphasis. Missionaries might still be welcome in certain dioceses, but the thrust of the Latin American Church for the next decade would be toward a liberationist project in which traditional missionary activity had little relevance.

The Fall of Mike Colonnese

Meanwhile, Colonnese was feeling more and more under siege. He not only received many threats by mail and telegram but also heard from a contact that his office in Washington had been bugged by an American intelligence agency, leading him to conduct a minute investigation of the premises with bug-detecting equipment.[34] Apparently he found a bug, for Edward Cleary remembers, "For visitors from Latin America, Colonnese produced an electronic device from a desk drawer. 'See,' he said, 'this shows what channel they're using.'"[35] He destroyed the LAB records from this period, fearing that they contained compromising information on his Latin American colleagues.[36] It is hard to assess the validity of Colonnese's suspicions, but it is noteworthy that the planners of the 1980 Ecumenical Conference of Third World Theologians in Sao Paulo were so worried about similar issues that they did not produce a list of attendees and that Illich also believed (correctly) that CIDOC was under constant observation by security personnel. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was indeed spying on Illich and an American communist named Lini de Vries, who was associated with CIDOC, as were Mexican intelligence agencies.[37]

Colonnese's fears did not prevent him from continuing to take controversial stands. Privately he criticized a new U.S. Catholic Conference

policy that required him to receive permission for any public "policy statements." Then, apparently without this permission, he criticized Nelson Rockefeller's investigative tour of Latin America and refused to contribute to his final report. He virtually shut down Considine's beloved PAVLA and publicly attacked U.S. policy toward Cuba for "imposing unnecessary suffering and deprivation."[38] It should be pointed out, though, that, unlike Illich, Colonnese always supported the principle of U.S. missionaries being sent to Latin America, as long as they received the proper training and orientation to Latin American realities.[39]

After four tumultuous years, Archbishop Joseph Bernardin, general secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference, began moving against Colonnese. "When I could not be silenced or co-opted," Colonnese said, "I was fired. I have offended powerful men within the U.S. church, and they have fired me."[40] He was correct that he had offended powerful men in the American Church, but that was nothing new. Actually, what had changed was that the *Latin American* bishops had lost faith in him. As long as he enjoyed the trust of the Latin Americans the American hierarchy was willing to put up with him, but once that was gone, there was no reason to keep such a divisive figure in the job.

In May 1971 Colonnese had earned the enmity of the Costa Rican bishops by joining a group of angry students outside the papal nunciature (embassy) in San José and telling them that he was more revolutionary than they were. He then took a lighter out of his pocket and told them to burn down the nunciature. A few days later he had scandalized the bishops still further when he told a group of students, "the saints of today are Camilo Torres and Che Guevara." In July, Colonnese alienated a group of bishops in Medellín, including CELAM vice president Eduardo Pironio, by telling them that the very fact that they were not in prison indicated that they did not truly care about the poor. By August the Brazilian bishops and the leaders of CELAM were asking the American bishops to get rid of Colonnese. In Brazil, which was in the midst of a tense political situation under a military government, Colonnese's bold political statements were seen as dangerous. The leaders of CELAM soon concluded that Colonnese lacked the discretion and diplomacy required of someone

in his position.[41] In the United States he was hurting feelings; in Latin America he was endangering lives.

Sensing the move against him, Colonnese traveled to Rome in June, hoping to meet with Pope Paul VI to denounce the American bishops and to gain the pope's support for his continued role in the LAB. Unfortunately for Colonnese, Bernardin, then the general secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference, had heard of his plans and had warned Archbishop Giovanni Benelli, technically the Vatican's deputy secretary of state but in practice the most powerful man in the curia, about Colonnese's plans. When Benelli informed Colonnese that he would not be having a private audience with the pope, Colonnese threatened to hold a press conference, but in the end he had to return to the United States without having strengthened his position.[42] By September, Bernardin had enough evidence and support. He fired Colonnese and stated, "Many people in this country and Latin America, including many bishops, had lost confidence in his leadership." He explained that Colonnese had lost the ability to work with moderates and conservatives. Colonnese, blind to the damage done by his indelicate and injudicious actions in both the United States and Latin America, interpreted the firing solely as a response of "powerful men" offended by his "too advanced" ideology.[43] He spent three years in Mexico, then served as a chaplain to revolutionaries in El Salvador.[44]

Fred McGuire, who replaced Colonnese as director of the LAB, lacked the zeal that had made Colonnese so controversial and seems to have served a sort of caretaker function. He ended the publication of *Latin America Calls*, laid off several workers, ended CICOP, and presided over the gradual shutdown of PAVLA. In 1973, the LAB became an office of a division of the Department of Social Development and World Peace of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, with the primary responsibility of organizing an annual financial appeal for Latin America. No longer did it call for volunteers or publicize the needs of Latin America. No one made an official announcement, but it was clear that the papal call for ten percent of the U.S. clergy to go to Latin America was no longer a priority of the American Church. The number of American Catholic missionaries to Latin America had

crested in 1965 or 1966 at about 4,000. The 3,391 missionaries in the region in 1968 were a far cry from the 30,000 or 40,000 missionaries Father Considine and Pope John had asked for, and the numbers were declining, so that by 1977 there were only 2,293 left. The missionary initiative in Latin America had failed.[45]

The Long Game of Illich

Colonnese once objected to Illich's "tactless cruelty" toward students in Cuernavaca. In retrospect, it is evident that both in Cuernavaca and in his writings Illich might have been cruel, but he was far from tactless. Tact, at least in the sense of sensitive mental and aesthetic perception, is exactly what Illich did have. He understood exactly what he was doing in his curt dismissals of would-be missionaries and in his hyperbolic, polemical prose. The seriousness of Latin America's spiritual condition required "radical surgery," one of the central metaphors in the "The Seamy Side of Charity." He believed that people like Colonnese, who saw the problems but kept sending ineffectual American volunteers, were not, in the end, truly compassionate: "They feel no guilt having the patient die of cancer, but fear the cost of applying the knife."[46] Illich was willing to apply the knife despite the inevitable pain it caused to well-intentioned missionaries, church officials, and, in the short term, many Latin Americans. In the words of Joseph Fitzpatrick, "His feeling about the article was 'if I hadn't done it that way, no one would have paid any attention.'"[47] He understood that his harsh critiques disheartened many would-be missionaries; he understood that his actions directly contradicted the wishes of the American hierarchy and the pope himself; he believed, though, that he was serving the true interests of the Church. The pain caused by his words was worthwhile if it led to the healing and rebirth of Latin American Christianity.

Despite the increasing radicalization of the LAB and of many missionaries, Illich tended to keep his distance from outspoken radicals like Colonnese. Part of this was a matter of personal taste—notwithstanding his own grandstanding and exaggeration in "The

Seamy Side," he found much of left-wing politics and theology cynical and juvenile. "Real revolutionaries," he said, "are men who look with a deep sense of humor—with sarcasm—upon their institutions. Sarcasm is adult playfulness. Cynicism is its opposite. Instead of freedom and independence it produces the play acting of revolution, a regressive attachment to slogans and self worship."[48] Illich also had a deep cunning that, even as he rejected overt action in the political realm, helped him to hatch and to stick with a long-term plan to subvert the missionary initiative in Latin America and then, even as he adopted a policy of "silence" on church matters, to wage an unrelenting intellectual attack on the institutionalization of the church. For instance, when Arthur and Thomas Melville, Maryknoll priests serving in Guatemala, aided guerillas and denounced U.S. imperialism in 1968, Illich dismissed them as "dilettantes" and "ingénues" because "one does not take short cuts."[49] In other words, his problem with the Melvilles was not their Marxian politics or even their advocacy of violence but their naiveté in believing that a few pronouncements or a few violent acts could have a real impact on Latin America. Their words and deeds would accomplish nothing, he suspected, except to raise their profile as progressive Catholics back in the United States. Illich's own program was very much *not* a short cut and, in many ways, could not be appreciated by any but his closest friends until the 1990s, when he began talking more freely and allowed journalist David Cayley to publish several interviews that dealt with his understanding of missions and the Church.[50]

Illich was also a master strategist who was willing to lose battles to win a war. He was willing to seem cruel, proud, and arrogant for his conduct of CIF and his vitriolic writing. He was willing to be blamed for not doing anything to help Latin America, even as he devoted a good portion of his life to an attempt to protect Latin America from American do-gooders. He had developed a theory of transgression "for the precise purpose of planning a revolutionary strategy" in Latin America. He understood that the "odd or bizarre event" was not truly revolutionary because it did not establish a pattern. An actually revolutionary act had to be seen as "significant to the whole of culture" or, even better, as "irreversible." Where the Melvilles supported guerillas

and other Catholic activists burned draft cards, Illich was looking for something deeper. For example, he believed that "a change in language can effect change in organization" and "the debunking of an ideology can effect change in social structure."[51] "True profound heresies to the prevailing religious system are a much more powerful powder keg than any kind of silly activists," he argued.[52] To change the terms being used, to make a previously favored term suspect, to discredit ideologies—these were Illich's battles, and he correctly surmised that ultimately his hidden battles would accomplish far more than the flamboyant actions of activist priests.

One of those activist priests, Daniel Berrigan, poet and Vietnam war protester, showed up at Cuernavaca in 1965 on assignment for *Jesuit Missions* as a sort of punishment for his anti-war activism in the United States. Illich's assistant Valentina Borremans confronted Berrigan directly on the balcony of Chulavista: "I do not believe in you; you are, what do you say, a phoney? All you are interested in is to become a martyr without rocking anybody's boat." Illich said, "I cannot but agree with Valentina: Berrigan is a nice poet trying to play a parlor game, afraid to live fully."[53] Like the Melvilles, Berrigan was a dilettante, a dabbler, an unserious amateur who understood neither the stakes nor the grand strategy necessary to achieve victory. Illich suggested that Berrigan return to the United States, the more proper context for his sort of activism.[54]

In 1965 the *New York Times* had characterized Illich as "unconventional." In 1968 the paper described him as, among other qualities, "controversial." In 1969 the paper named Illich "Controversial Priest" in the title of an article.[55] This is the trajectory of Illich in the 1960s: First he was a bit odd, a kind of curiosity; then he was provocative, beginning to attract attention even outside missionary circles; and then controversy was central to his identity. The notoriety he had achieved in 1969 was in large part a reflection of his success. He had challenged the conventional wisdom about missions, had made his critique more and more widely known, and finally had substantially undermined the entire missionary initiative. For instance, in 1968, just a year after "The Seamy Side," the *New York Times* was asserting, "In

recent years a change has taken place in the philosophy of missions in the larger churches." Apparently, for these churches the goal was no longer to make converts but "to aid the people in raising their standard of living."[56] In 1972 the *Times* noted, "In recent years the number of missionaries has been dropping off steadily" because both Protestants and Catholics had experienced "financial problems, changing priorities among liberal churchmen, and the missionary's new vulnerability to the vicissitudes of politics in a post-colonial age."[57] Illich was not the only source of this change—the cultural ferment of the period led many priests and religious sisters to leave their ministries—but he definitely made a major contribution to the "changing priorities of liberal churchmen" and the "vicissitudes" of post-colonial politics.[58] His success was costly—he no longer served openly as a priest, he had no home or financial security, and more traditional Catholics like his old mentor Jacques Maritain viewed him as a traitor to the Church.[59]

"Should I, a man totally at the service of the Church, stay in the structure in order to subvert it, or leave in order to live the model of the future?" Illich had wondered in 1959.[60] During the 1960s, he chose to subvert the structure of the Church from within. By the late 1960s, even before he renounced his public priesthood, he was providing in CIDOC a model of a personal and non-institutional community committed to learning rather than to credentials. In the 1970s his books and other writings brought his ideas to a worldwide audience.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CIDOC

Before the firestorm of criticism occasioned by Illich's courting of public controversy with "The Seamy Side of Charity," in early 1966 CIDOC (Centro Intercultural de Documentación) had faced another, more prosaic, crisis. Unexpectedly, Illich, Hoinacki, and the rest of the staff were informed that the Hotel Chulavista had been sold and that they had only weeks to leave. They were in the midst of a training session and were expecting students from five different countries for another course that would start a few weeks later. Over the past few years they had built up a research library and had several scholars in residence. Shocked by the blow to their plans, the staff of CIDOC spent several days in "intense prayer, thought, and discussion" and decided to continue as an institution. They were convinced, though, that the "nature and direction" of their work would change.[1] They soon found a new campus at the "Casa Blanca," a California-style mansion in a newly developed area of Cuernavaca known as Rancho Tetela, and were able to host their first students there in April 1966. Perhaps even more important than the physical shift to a new campus was a shift in emphasis from religious to secular pursuits and a conscious policy of welcoming anyone "animated by a common spirit: a commitment to humanist values."[2]

CIF at first had been only a missionary training center, but it had birthed CIDOC and that institution's more secular pursuits. Now CIF and its Church-related activities increasingly faded from view. Illich would always be a committed Catholic, as would much of the staff and many of the visitors, but he and his institution would increasingly devote themselves to secular subjects and would attract more and more students from outside of the Church. "This secularization of the

operation does not mean the Christians in the center have given up the faith or the Church," explained a CIDOC publication. "It means the awareness that in order to be effective in the service it renders, it was better not to be a confessional institution. This would permit freer relationships with all sorts of persons and groups."[3]

Illich as Magnet

CIDOC could function as a secular institution only if it succeeded in attracting a new clientele. CIF had had the missionary initiative as both its *raison d'être* and its primary source of students. How would CIDOC fill its classes? One way was through the rising profile of Illich himself. "The Seamy Side," "The Vanishing Clergyman," and articles about him and by him in the *New York Times* and the Catholic press had converted Illich into a noted and controversial priest. Once he gave up the active priesthood, he actually became more famous, as his writing designed for secular audiences, especially *Deschooling Society* and *Medical Nemesis*, achieved solid sales around the world. Each book, and he wrote six between 1970 and 1976, made him more famous and led to lectures and interviews in America, Europe, and Asia. Between September 15 and December 15, 1974, Illich traveled to Paris, Hamburg, Japan, Dusseldorf, Paris (again), Germany (again), London, York, Geneva, London (again), and New York to give talks, to hold press conferences, and to be interviewed. After returning to Cuernavaca for three months, he visited London, Davos, Geneva, and Dublin in the spring of 1975 for more speeches and interviews.[4] While in the early years at CIF few students knew the name of Ivan Illich before they became aware of the center, in later years Illich was one of the key draws at CIDOC.

The publicity that Illich received during the CIDOC years painted him as an eccentric guru of revolution. At a conference in Cyprus, for instance, he was reported to have learned Greek in one week simply by talking to a hotel gardener, to have left his hotel hours before everyone else because he would not travel by car to the conference center, and to

have rejected "just about everything which to most people represents progress."[5] To an American journalist, Illich was a man of both brilliance and "complete humility," the first Westerner he had met who was "definitely a saint."[6] In a televised lecture at London's Institute of Contemporary Arts he rejected the word "information" as dehumanizing, defined his task as "identifying what we cannot have" rather than providing any sort of solution to society's problems, and ended with the assertion about modern transportation that "at a certain speed only imperialism is possible." At the University of Nottingham in 1974 more than 1,000 people came to hear him call for a form of socialism that would be characterized by "voluntary poverty" and the use of bicycles. His editor heard from university officials that it had been the most successful lecture they had ever hosted.[7]

Most of Illich's public lectures were virtuoso performances that combined wit, wisdom, and intellect in a way that most people found impressive, if not always convincing. When facing groups that he considered dangerous or intransigent, however, he could be caustic and confrontational. Finding himself on the stage of the annual conference of the Society for International Development, Illich launched into a vituperative tirade in which he asserted that the very idea of development had been rejected by all sensible people in 1965. "Since then," he said, "I don't think anyone could be in the development business who is not either very limited or very cynical." The members of his audience were holding on to their positions "like women in a cathouse who are becoming old and have no other choice." The audience, not surprisingly, responded angrily.

> "Are we to ignore these needs?" asked one of the development professionals.
>
> "You speak like a Spanish missionary," responded Illich. "Do people want to be saved?"
>
> "Yes. In many cases they do want to be saved."
>
> "Do they need sanctifying grace because we are all in original sin?"
>
> "No, they need pure water. To hear you talk, there are no problems in the world."

> "Since when," asked Illich, "does one have 'problems' in the world. Look it up, for goodness sake, in the Oxford English Dictionary: 'problem, a mathematically stated. . .'"
>
> "Do you find this a useful way to look at human relationships?" interrupted the questioner.

"The language of 'human relationships,' of 'problems,'—this is the language of development. I tell you that I do not think most of you could even move because your money is made in seeing the world in these terms. When people are imputed problems, that is religion. You are the metaphysicians of the modern religious establishment—degenerated Christianity masquerading as Marxism or liberalism or whatever you want to call it. This was tolerable in mediocrally [*sic*] intelligent people in 1965, but today it requires enormous efforts of justification and legitimization."[8]

The purpose of such deliberately insulting language, of course, was to shock people into thought and reflection, but the initial result in such audiences was anger and rejection.

It was not just the insulted who turned against Illich. A press conference in London in 1973 was attended by sixty-five reporters, but not all were enthusiastic about what they heard. One concluded, "His fluency with anecdote, aphorism, statistics (and words like 'asymptote') don't disguise the lack in his talk and writing of any positive line of thought leading to group action."[9] As early as 1974 reporters began to discern a cooling reception to his ideas. "Two or three years ago," said *The Guardian*, "his apparent influence on thought about society was widespread." The public was starting to recognize, though, that all of his books and speeches lacked two essential items: "a recognizable, workable, detailed alternative to what he is criticizing" and a "definable line at which to halt technological development."[10] The paper was correct on both counts. Illich's influence had started to wane by 1974 and his international popularity would never again be as high as it was in the period from 1970 to 1974; in fact, by 1976 CIDOC itself would be closed and nothing comparable would replace it. Similarly, the paper was right that Illich had not made concrete plans about how

to reform society. In fairness to Illich, however, he had never claimed to be providing such plans. He was diagnosing society's ills; it would be for others to develop political programs. Still, as long as he was even faintly scandalous, Illich drew seekers and students to Cuernavaca.

CIDOC in Action

Despite the change of venue and the more secular emphasis, in many ways CIDOC at the Rancho Tetela functioned similarly to CIF and CIF-CIDOC at the Hotel Chulavista. There were still language lessons for students who were still mostly from the United States; now, though, many of the students were college dropouts and other non-religious young people who tended to view CIDOC as a part of the counterculture, a place of pilgrimage for spiritual enlightenment. There were still lectures and classes on Latin American culture and society, now with more options than before. There was still tension between Illich and the students, for similar reasons. "The North American who believes that his New Consciousness entitles him to charity from northeast Brazilians, who believes that his interest in Castaneda permits him to disturb village life is, in a way, an even more subtle pest than the conceited Peace Corps members I saw ten years ago," Illich explained.[11]

In the period from 1967 to 1976 CIDOC operated with, as one of its students noted, "certain, but admittedly few, rules which are strictly enforced" but with "absolute freedom" within these rules.[12] The combination might seem contradictory—and it perplexed and even disgusted many of the guests—but it served the idiosyncratic purposes of Illich and the like-minded souls gathered around him. CIDOC presented itself not as a university or a school but merely as "a meeting place for humanists." It had no set curriculum, did not represent a particular ideology, and in fact prohibited its visitors from using the center as base for planning any specific sort of political or revolutionary action.[13] If visitors followed the rules, they could create an individualized educational experience from a long menu of classes, lectures, and personal contacts. If they did not follow the rules, they would be asked to leave.

Most of those who came to CIDOC, and there could be anywhere from 100 to 600 people registered at a given time, studied Spanish in classes basically the same as those given to the CIF students. Using the curriculum and methods of the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, teachers drilled students in classes of three or four students for three hours a day, after which students were expected to spend an hour in the language laboratory and another hour in "directed conversation or grammatical briefing." Before coming to class, students were expected to have completed writing assignments and to have memorized dialogues. "Although friendly and helpful," the CIDOC catalogue warned, "our instructors are very serious about their work and quite strict in the classroom . . . This intensive course demands attendance at every class. It is designed for mature, serious, and hard-working students."[14] Many students, in fact, found the language classes extremely challenging and the dropout rate for language students was high.[15]

In addition to the language classes, CIDOC hosted the Institute for Contemporary Latin Studies (ICLAS), which presented itself as a "framework" for learning about Latin America, usually in courses that included eight class sessions over a two-week period. "Dialogue," said the catalogue, "is preferred to lecture and all proselytizing and indoctrination is out of place." Those who wished to teach such a course could list it in the catalogue; when five students or more signed up, a course would start. A 1970 catalogue offered forty-five courses by instructors who lived in the Cuernavaca area and another seventy-five by visiting instructors. The way in which the classes were set up, with students able to choose the topics that interested them and to drop a course at any time, put a fair amount of pressure on the teachers. "Unstated but ever present," noted a visiting public school teacher from New York, "is the fact that instructors must involve students who are under no compulsions or obligations of any kind, sans tests, grades, or measurements." Students, not instructors, had the upper hand. "If at any time during a class they grow bored, they can and do get up and walk out," he said and noted that this happened even to "star" teachers.[16]

There were courses on education, philosophy, the history of Mexico and other Latin American nations, literature of various types, and a

random assortment of other topics. They varied widely in quality and popularity but could give students the opportunity to interact with experts and rising stars, some of international repute. For example, in the spring of 1970, Jonathan Kozol, later a prolific author and education reformer, was offering "How Parents Regain Control of Their Children's Education"; Paul Goodman, the anarchist sociologist, was giving "Deschooling the Society"; and Michael Maccoby, a student and collaborator of Erich Fromm, was presenting "Social Character in Mexico." Other teachers included Lini de Vries, one of many American communists who had moved to Cuernavaca to escape prosecution in the United States; Francisco Juliao, Marxist leader of a Brazilian peasant movement; Alicia Echeverria, the sister of Mexico's president; and Carmen Molina, recently returned from teaching in Castro's Cuba.[17]

With its concentration of Marxists and other radicals from the United States and Latin America, CIDOC was a cause of concern to American and Mexican officials. Both Illich and de Vries were investigated by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, but neither was judged dangerous by the 1960s, although de Vries had been one of the ten most important cases in Mexico in 1952. The FBI concluded that CIDOC was "basically a training center" and that Illich was no more than an "anti-communist with a leftist-reform attitude." As for the Mexican security apparatus, Illich thought that undercover agents were in attendance at every session, but he was not worried. The center expressly forbade political and revolutionary organizing and really had nothing to hide. "I offered all the keys to our files to a member of the security police," said Illich. "That would save them the cost of making skeleton keys."[18]

The 11:00 hour every morning was kept free for "El Ciclo," a lecture program in which visiting or resident experts addressed topics of general interest. Illich himself gave the Wednesday Ciclo lecture during the early years at Rancho Tetela. In the spring of 1970, for example, he spoke on "the mythology of the school" and "the religious origins of education and of the institutional history of the school system."[19] Other Ciclo speakers were often teachers of ICLAS classes who wanted to attract new students or simply to share their ideas with a larger

audience. For example, late March and early April 1972 featured the following talks:

> "Agrarian movements in Latin America" by Patrick O'Shea, a graduate student at the University of California;
>
> "Leadership and Social Change: Protestant Clergy in the U.S." by Neil Snarr, a professor from Ohio;
>
> "The Prison Diary of Ho Chi Minh" by William Rogers, retired from the U.S. Army;
>
> "The Roots of Modern Mexico" by Lini de Vries;
>
> "Eve and Mary: A Political Theology for the Women's Movement," by Davida Foy Crabtree, a seminary student from Boston.

These lectures were attended by as few as three students and by as many as twenty-five, with those given in Spanish attracting lower numbers.[20] When a star such as Illich was speaking, the attendance would be much higher and the Ciclo could function as the focal point not only of CIDOC but of Cuernavaca itself:

> Like an exploding firecracker Illich returned from a lecture tour in New York and the energy level around the place seemed to rise. Picture a clear, hot, sunny morning in the villa garden, with Illich presenting the morning Ciclo. Tourists pour in from the hills of Cuernavaca, with their golden tans and expensive clothing, and mingle amongst the professors and students. (The Cuernavaca garden club changed its meeting time so members would not miss Illich.) The Mexican ticket taker is stationed at the door carefully screening the mobs, sending crashers back, but some determined ones manage to scale the spiked iron fence at the back of the garden. Birds are chirping and unmuffled Mexican trucks and buses can be heard from the highway. Illich wears a white Mexican shirt, has sandaled feet, a bony suntanned face, eyes that flash or frown depending on the point he is making. He begins to talk, looking occasionally at notes, but he is a charismatic speaker and his intensity and fascination with his subject pull the audience along. Everyone strains to catch every word and obscure allusion. The lecture series has been billed as "The History

of Measurements" but instead Illich uses it to speak of whatever interests him currently: deinstitutionalizing language, getting rid of jargon, measurement, Comenius.[21]

Finally, the center hosted a research library specializing in religion and social change in Latin America, published several journals on Latin American religion and social change, and hosted specialized "by-invitation-only" seminars on topics such as education, architecture, development, and medicine.[22] These more specialized and more restricted aspects of the center might have seemed like an anomaly to many of those who attended CIDOC, but for Illich, at least, they were now the heart of the enterprise. During the CIF phase, the students had been his focus because he was trying to persuade them to go home; during the CIDOC phase, the students functioned more as a method of financing his intellectual program, which was developed in the special seminars and the library and then propagated in CIDOC publications.

Because of its eclectic offerings, CIDOC attracted a diverse group of students and visitors. Some were still missionaries preparing for postings to Latin America; some were students and professionals working on Spanish; some were dropouts looking for something exciting in a new environment; a handful were serious thinkers. In this motley conglomeration of committed students, bored expatriates, and genuine intellectuals, reactions to the CIDOC experience varied immensely.

CIDOC "registrar" Esperanza Godot, with whom most of the students corresponded before they arrived in Cuernavaca, was not an actual person but rather a Spanish translation of "Waiting for Godot." Many students, like the actors in Samuel Beckett's play in which there is much talk but little action, seem to have spent their time at CIDOC waiting for something to happen. They left with a vague sense of disappointment, sensing that they had somehow missed the enlightenment that might have been available, that might have been there right in front of their eyes. Others grew increasingly frustrated.[23]

One of those frustrated students was Toby Moffett, a young man active in the reform of public schools in the United States. He had been impressed by one of Illich's speeches in the United States and had

traveled to Cuernavaca to learn more, but he was dismayed by almost everything that he found at the center. Illich's colleague Dennis Sullivan shocked Moffett by saying, "I hope you'll sit in on my seminar while you're here, because you and people like you represent everything we oppose."[24] Angered by Sullivan's rejection of some of his most cherished beliefs and annoyed by the separate fees and "class cards" demanded for admission to CIDOC, Ciclo lectures, and Sullivan's course, Moffett nevertheless finally arrived at Sullivan's class, which was devoted to a vehement critique of the ideas of education reformer John Holt. "We are against people like Holt who talk about expanding the classroom, moving the wall of the classroom outward to make the world a classroom," said Sullivan. "We think that the world should simply be the world."

"Isn't that just a matter of semantics?" asked Moffett.

"No, it's an important difference. And we think that the free school movement merely solidifies and reinforces the notion of schooling," Sullivan responded.

When Moffett raised the option of people "coming together of their own free will to teach each other and to learn from each other," Sullivan dismissed this as a rare occurrence and said that the real duty of the American middle class was not to found new schools but to leave school altogether. Moffett, still indignant about the rules and fees at CIDOC, replied, "That's fine, but when are you people at CIDOC going to leave school? I couldn't get into this classroom without a class card."

"Before I went to Cuernavaca I found the deschooling argument philosophically appealing, and I still feel that way, but once there I learned nothing about specific strategies for implementation," he said. The ideas advocated at CIDOC appealed mostly to "moderate people," not to those like Moffett himself who were committed to "community coalitions around such diverse issues as People's Peace Treaty, voter registration, and help for mineworkers." In the end, Moffett concluded, "Ironically enough, Illich and his disciples may, using their own terms, be more 'schooled up' than any of us whom they challenge to leave the schools."[25]

Another student frustrated by CIDOC was Jack Fields, an English teacher from New York. He felt that very few of the students "could find what they were seeking at CIDOC" and that the overriding reality of the institution was "the malaise" and "numbed feeling of disconnectedness" of its students. He found it "funny, perhaps pathetic," that CIDOC provoked the same feelings that traditional schools did. Fields, who advocated not deschooling but school reform, grew more and more angry about "the illusion that somehow schools will simply dissolve" and about Illich's unwillingness to give specifics about how this would happen.[26]

It was not only those committed to educational reform who found CIDOC frustrating. Members of the political left often had their expectations dashed as well. Anna Marie Taylor, a recent graduate of the University of Wisconsin, had expected to find in CIDOC a model of progressive living but was surprised to find instead a "morass of rules and structures" and "little awareness of the movement for women's liberation." She lamented the high numbers of Americans and low numbers of Latin Americans and found "a divorce between CIDOC and the surrounding vista of poverty." The classes and seminars ignored both the real problems in Mexico itself and the actions the progressive Church was taking to alleviate them. She had to conclude that CIDOC was complicit with the Mexican state, which allowed it "as a liberal window dressing to ally [*sic*] the image of the repressive government in Mexico, which permits CIDOC to exist as long as it does not threaten in any way the status quo."[27]

On the other hand, Shepherd Bliss, a doctoral student at the University of Chicago, had a generally positive time in Cuernavaca. He noted that the CIDOC experience depended largely on what one brought to it. Those students who wanted a traditional education or who wanted to organize a revolution were disappointed, but he enjoyed the "highly stimulating, animated, and spirited" atmosphere, and returned to Cuernavaca twice, despite frequent disagreements with Illich.[28]

Another student who appreciated his time in Cuernavaca was Everett Egginton. At first he saw the center as having too many rules and the same bureaucracy as a traditional school. He slowly realized, however,

that there were only a few rules but that they were enforced strictly. Illich told him that the center had only three rules:

1. Those who come to conduct a seminar ought not collect money from the participants before at least two hours' exposure to the contents of the seminar and the methods of inquiry to be used;
2. Participants ought gather without the prior intent of engaging in subversive activity, although if this is a consequence of a seminar, Illich doesn't find fault with it;
3. Participants are asked not to engage in "behavior which the gardeners consider lewd" or that would be disruptive of others' inquiry.

Participants who followed these three rules were "absolutely free" to learn and to live as they wished. Egginton also realized that he "was confusing bureaucracy with structure," for only seven people, including Illich, dealt with all the decisions and administrative tasks that came from an institution with over 100 employees and as many as 600 students. Egginton quibbled a bit with the notion that the center offered "absolute freedom," pointing to regulations about use of the facilities, but had to admit "the exciting things that do happen at CIDOC." The center attracted interesting teachers and fostered "an atmosphere in which one can think through his ideas, either alone or in concert with others."[29]

An architect who came to the center with specific questions about his discipline had a similarly positive experience. He found that conversation with others in his class helped him "to define and form" a project he was developing on the use of film in architectural education. What made CIDOC special was that it gave those who wanted to investigate an idea or to develop a project "the possibility that a group of people will take that adventure with him." Such a journey could lead to exciting discoveries or to intellectual dead ends, but the value of the center was that it provided "the continuing facility for intellectual adventure."[30]

In a similar vein, educational critic John Holt found CIDOC "a mind blowing place" and called the two weeks he spent there in 1970

"among the most interesting, pleasant, and valuable" of his life. Although he already had been highly critical of schooling, discussions at the center had allowed him to see even more clearly that it was one of the "great evils" of his era.[31]

From time to time students who had somehow failed to encounter this atmosphere of freedom and adventure gathered to complain. After visiting CIDOC three times, Shepherd Bliss said that students meeting "to criticize—even to condemn—CIDOC and/or Illich and to consider organizing against the place" had become part of the script of the CIDOC drama. Sometimes the catalyst was Illich's brutal candor, which caused one student to ask Dennis Sullivan, one of Illich's closest colleagues at the time, "How can you work with such a person?"[32] More often, however, the cause was the rigidity of the CIDOC structure. In the summer of 1971, for example, students "were so dissatisfied with the countless rules and regulations, innumerable fees, the showing of admittance cards at every turn, and the lack of stimulating courses, despite the elaborate catalogue listings, that the contradictions between CIDOC's image of itself as a non-institution and the bureaucratic realities became intolerable."[33] The following spring featured another movement to overturn the hated rules, but the rebellion was ignored by the administration and fizzled when its ringleaders had to return to the United States.[34]

Fees seemed particularly bothersome to the younger Americans. "If you're advocating de-schooling and are really against school institutions," said one angry college student, "then Ciclo should be free to all students." Illich's reply that, since the center was funded completely by fees, there was no way to offer free programs fell on deaf ears. Some students then resorted to passing I.D. cards through the fences so that non-payers could attend the lectures.[35]

Underlying the complaints was often the perception that there was something like a caste system at work at CIDOC. One student complained of "all the experts sitting up on some patio that was off limits to students."[36] This complaint was based in reality, for the Institute of Contemporary Latin American Studies, with its library, gardens, and swimming pool, was "literally closed off from the rest of CIDOC" by

"high brick fences topped with barbed wire, a formidable iron picket fence, and a guard who stops anyone who hasn't had his I.D. card validated."[37]

Also, students were not mistaken in their perceptions of being treated as second-class participants at CIDOC; they were the means to a greater end. Illich, if pressed, would admit as much. In the spring of 1972 students raised as an issue of justice the fact that John Holt had eliminated the fees for his class but that Edgar Friedenberg had not. Illich told the students that he sided with Friedenberg and that the right to be unjust was one of CIDOC's most important values. He gave as an example his practice of giving all Latin Americans, even those of great wealth, full scholarships for any and every CIDOC class and program, while requiring all Americans, even the poorest, to pay the full price. "He has also pointed out on other occasions," explained Everett Egginton, "that he is in the business of exploiting Americans, and that this is the primary justification for the CIDOC language school."[38] "Illich admits that this summer influx [of Americans] is tolerated," said Anna Marie Taylor, "because it is one of the main sources of funds, but he emphasizes that CIDOC's primary purpose is to work throughout the year with small specialized seminars of people committed to thinking out, over a period of time, particular areas of social problems."[39] "We get to rub elbows with the writers that have shaped our ideas and he gets to bounce his thoughts off them. We should all be happy, but somehow we feel a bit used, demeaned," reflected another student.[40]

Illich's announcement in March 1972 that he would no longer give his regular Wednesday Ciclo lectures and his move in 1973 out of the Casa Blanca and into a house in the small town of Ocotepec on the outskirts of Cuernavaca probably reflected his almost total disengagement from the mainstream participants at the center by this point. He and companion Valentina Borremans spent their days studying and praying. The students at CIDOC had become little more than a source of funds that financed his research.[41]

CHAPTER EIGHT

BREAKING THE SPELL

As long as an individual is not explicitly conscious of the ritual character of the process through which he was initiated to the forces which shape his cosmos, he cannot break the spell and shape a new cosmos.

Ivan Illich in Deschooling Society[1]

The Ciclo lecture on a Wednesday morning in 1971 was well attended, with over 100 people gathered on the grass and on benches to hear Illich's address on learning networks. In 1970 Illich had written *Deschooling Society*, which called for an end to public schools, and now he was using his weekly Ciclo lectures to develop his proposal of learning networks as an alternative form of education. In this lecture he was responding to critics who said that the learning network would just become another form of commoditized "education" that could be as deadening and impersonal as the school. Illich began by using a metaphor from alchemy as a way to better understand economics, ritual, and theology. In dialogue with a few of the audience members Illich slowly constructed an extended analogy between alchemy and learning that he then used to clarify his learning networks proposal.[2]

Most of the audience did not understand what Illich was talking about. "Not knowing what was at stake, what the actual questions were, what language was appropriate to resolving questions, they remained mute," reported a visiting professor. David Barkin, an economist, tried to offer some suggestions, but Illich accepted none of them. When other audience members spoke up, "they were rejected out of hand or attacked personally by Illich," and in one case even told "to sit down and shut up." Only Paul Goodman, Everett Reimer, and

a couple of other people "participated with approval" in the Ciclo. This small group, observed Robert Merideth, "were men who consented to the chief (real) aim of the session: to construct the metaphorical system Illich had enunciated initially in such a way that the 'problem' could be 'clarified'—i.e. made metaphorically consistent."[3]

Until Illich stopped giving such lectures in March 1972, the Wednesday Ciclo was the place where the public was able to hear Illich's latest thoughts and to interact with him. Clearly, though, even before he stopped giving the lectures, Illich had moved his focus from the crowds to the experts, and specifically to certain specialists who shared many of his ideas. Illich's Ciclo lectures were presented to the masses, but by 1971 and 1972 they had become "a continuing public conversation with a small group of colleagues" that excluded all but the most intellectual of the audience from understanding or intelligent participation.[4] So what was this "conversation" to which Illich and his colleagues were dedicating themselves? At its heart was the phenomenon of institutionalization—the process by which good and valuable human activities became corrupted into counterproductive, impersonal, and dangerous institutions.

Historical Development

Many events and experiences triggered Illich's concerns about this process, but his years in Puerto Rico (1956–60) were pivotal. An important influence was Leopold Kohr, an Austrian political scientist who worked at the University of Puerto Rico from 1955 to 1973. Kohr challenged Illich to reevaluate not simply the specific development policies being carried out in Puerto Rico, but the very concept of development. To Kohr, appropriateness and proportionality, as opposed to economic calculations, were the keys to a community's health. Plans, appeals to the future, professional evaluations—in Kohr's thinking all of these abstract notions could do little but damage to real people and real communities. The grandiose plans of the technocrats behind Operation Bootstrap, a plan to industrialize Puerto Rico, were the antithesis of

the insight of Kohr's student E. F. Schumacher that "small is beautiful." As a worker told Illich, "Unlike the professors, party workers, and priests, this Austrian makes us think about what our neighborhood is, not how to carry out experts' plans."[5] The more Illich thought about development, the more he came to believe that it was a flawed concept that had destructive effects when attempted. Societies were not some plastic substance that could be expanded ad infinitum. "There are," he came to believe, "societies and aspects of societies which can survive only within certain narrow limits of size."[6]

A similar issue for Illich was education. Through a fluke, he ended up as a substitute member of the commonwealth's Council of Education, which oversaw every level of Puerto Rican education. At first, he fought for a law that made five years of public education mandatory for all Puerto Ricans. However, forced to think for the first time about what education was, and more specifically what schools did, Illich became increasingly perplexed. Especially after having talked to Everett Reimer, an expert on "human resources" who was working there at the time, he started to ask himself questions. "Quite definitely," he said, "I was not studying what other people told me this was, namely, the most practical arrangement for imparting education, or for imparting equality, because I saw that most of the people were stupefied by this procedure, were actually told that they couldn't learn on their own and became disabled or crippled. Secondly, I had the evidence that it promoted a new kind of self-inflicted injustice."[7] Trained not in educational philosophy but in history and theology, when Illich examined schooling he kept being reminded of ecclesiology, the study of the structure and function of the Church, and of liturgy, the study of Christian ritual. "The more I looked into what was happening, the more I felt sick to my stomach," he said. "Everyone was so certain they acted for the good of these impressionable young Puerto Ricans . . . and I was driven to the suspicion that I was standing in front of a secularization of Catholic ritual."[8]

Illich came to believe that mandatory public schooling was a fraud perpetuated on the poor because they simply could not compete in this new ritual of modernity (because they could not afford to stay in

school) but were nevertheless mandated to do so. Then they internalized a sense of failure and almost religious inferiority while the wealthy fulfilled the requirements and moved on to positions of power, harboring a sense of rectitude because of their ritualistic accomplishments. "Standing in front of this altogether strange and mysterious phenomenon in the 1950s, I did not yet have terms for it," Illich said. "Foucault had not yet written of epistemic breaks, but I would say now that I was contemplating an historical watershed which was of a deeper nature than most contemporary historians contend when they use the now common language of watersheds, breaks, and breakthroughs."[9] In other words, Illich's later attacks on schooling in *Deschooling Society* come directly from his experiences in Puerto Rico.[10]

A related incident occurred at a Chicago conference in 1964 when Illich experienced a "shock" while talking to a young anthropologist in a seminar. "At the critical point of what I thought was a conversation," Illich remembered, "he said to me, 'Illich, you can't turn me on, you do not communicate with me.' After a moment of disarray, I began to feel outrage. A live person, to whom I thought I had been responding, experienced our dialogue as something more general, namely as 'one form of human communication.'"[11] Objects were taking on the characteristics of human beings and human beings were starting to seem like machines. These and similar events led him to conclude that the West was undergoing a profound cultural and epistemological shift that he did not yet understand but that involved a loss of the personal and was somehow related to the growing influence of Western institutions.

As Illich began to speak and write about secular institutions from 1969 onward, he was not making as big a break with his past as some observers might have thought. He and his colleagues in Cuernavaca had developed certain theological understandings of the nature of the Church that facilitated and even necessitated a secular approach to social criticism. These understandings came through in a document that CIF chaplain Lee Hoinacki prepared for a meeting in 1966 for members of religious orders that Illich was leading in Cuernavaca. Hoinacki asserted that the "secularization of renewal" was necessary because "When the Church as an institution attempts a work of service to

a particular and controversial social action, she prejudices her real task of unifying men in the celebration of their faith." Committed Christians should therefore fight for the renewal of society in whatever way they thought best, but not as Christians and not for any specifically Christian reason, but rather out of a "secularly humanistic commitment to qualitative change." "These men," he said, "do not need, nor should they be deceived into accepting, the Gospel as a norm or principle of their action."[12]

The Church recently had made "hesitant and halting attempts to use her moral prestige and political power for seemingly revolutionary social persuasion," but Hoinacki rejected this approach, even when he agreed with the policy goals: "If the Church continues to use her power and prestige in the social arena, she perpetuates her inability to witness to that which is specific and unique in her mission today." "The Church's task," he continued, "is to evangelize men, not to socialize them." Thus, unlike those liberation theologians that Illich was bringing together at roughly the same time, Hoinacki and Illich (we can assume that Illich, the organizer of the meeting, endorsed Hoinacki's ideas) rejected the overtly political Church. It was not that they did not have revolutionary goals but rather that they thought those goals were properly achieved in a secular manner. While religious orders, radical theologians, and conservative churchmen all were making elaborate plans based on the data provided by the social sciences, Illich and Hoinacki saw this as a trap: "The depersonalization of human love, whether it be expressed by religious institutes' constitutions or by *Playboy*, must be opposed by the intimate and unique personalization of affection which is true chastity. The reliance on 'revelatory' sociological statistics to direct man's relations with his neighbor must be seen as the fear to believe in the uniqueness of the other."[13] Thus, Illich and his colleagues in Cuernavaca believed that they had good reason to devote themselves to issues such as education, medicine, and transportation in the 1970s. They were simply doing what Illich and Hoinacki had long advocated: attacking secular problems with a rationale accessible to all, based on logic and analogy rather than on overt theological

foundations; and they were dealing with problems that they had been thinking about since the 1950s.

Convivial Thinking

In Puerto Rico and during the early Cuernavaca years Illich had gathered groups of like-minded thinkers for reflection and discussion during the holidays and at the margins of his other responsibilities, as he trained missionaries and fulfilled the administrative tasks inherent in his positions at the Universidad Católica and CIF. At the Hotel Chulavista, for example, a few rooms had been reserved for what Illich called "a kind of club, a kind of independent thinkery, where people could get together on any subject related to the reaction of the human personality to social change."[14] During the CIDOC years he made these conversations his priority because they seem to have been the primary way that he refined his ideas. Other scholars might work for years in isolation, then circulate a draft to a few choice friends for comments; Illich was "constantly engaged in a process of formulating or refining his ideas through continuous dialogue with many different people." His writings, therefore, were "snap shots" of his thought at a given point and were out of date almost as soon as printed because he would immediately incorporate criticism into a new draft, which in turn would create a round of dialogue and criticism. One participant at CIDOC pointed out that "without understanding where he was before, or where he has gone since, it is difficult to completely understand his writings." The best way, in fact, to understand his ideas clearly and deeply was to be engaged in the process with him.[15]

The method that he developed at CIDOC was one that he employed later at Pennsylvania State University, in Bremen, and wherever else he could gather a group of thoughtful friends:

> A typical seminar begins in the morning with a short presentation by one member of the group followed by a couple of hours of ardent conversation. After a break for tea, a second presentation will be followed

> by another round of discussion. A second break into a midday meal, perhaps followed by a siesta. But mid-afternoon will witness a resumption of the cycle of the two-hour presentation and discussion for another couple of rounds, then a lighter evening meal, and possibly another cycle of presentation and discussion.[16]

Illich would then travel to a new location to repeat similar discussions with new groups of people or bring new groups to Cuernavaca, then would give speeches representing his conclusions in various venues around the world, and finally, months or years after the beginning of the process, would publish an article or book on the topic. These publications, rather than recapitulations of Illich's thought process or systematic statements of philosophical positions, were "highly compact" idiosyncratic statements based on "anecdote and allusion."[17] Most readers, even highly educated ones, could catch the gist of an argument but could not hope to grasp the historical, philosophical, theological, and scientific foundation on which Illich's published work had been constructed.

Brian Jackson, a British professor who shared the stage with Illich at an Australian conference in 1973, was one of those who decided that Illich had less substance than initially appeared. Thronged by students, mostly young women, Illich issued pronouncements that he would no longer fly in jets or appear on television and answered questions such as "Shall I have children, Dr. Illich?" If Jackson was bemused by the hypocrisy—Illich had flown to the conference, which was being televised—and taken aback by the adulation shown by students, he was angered by what he perceived as Illich's failures of intellect and of sincerity. "Nothing I saw in the flesh," said Jackson, "made me believe in the depth of Illich's position. Indeed it helped me to be more honest with myself about the thinness of the books, the sense of excited reading, followed by nothing in your hand."[18] Those who wanted something more rigorous and systematic often criticized Illich as a "creator of social aphorisms" who produced little more than "strings of insights," but such criticisms did not take into account the significant intellectual work that went into producing Illich's apparently off-the-cuff insights.[19]

Despite Jackson's comments, the CIDOC years (1967–76) were an incredibly fertile time during which Illich produced major works of lasting value. During this period five major books by Illich, all reflecting conclusions derived from years of conversations in Cuernavaca and around the world, were published: *Deschooling Society* (1970), *Celebration of Awareness: A Call for Institutional Revolution* (1971), *Tools for Conviviality* (1973), *Energy and Equity* (1974), and *Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health* (1976). A sixth book, *The Church, Change, and Development* (1970), was published against Illich's wishes and received little attention. Additionally, drafts and alternative versions of chapters from these works appeared in various CIF and CIDOC journals and in mainstream journals such as *The New York Review of Books*, *Saturday Review*, and *Commonweal*. Publications that came out after the closing of CIDOC that stemmed directly from his earlier work included *Disabling Professions* (1977), *The Right to Useful Employment and Its Professional Enemies* (1978), *Toward a History of Needs* (1978), *Shadow Work* (1981), *Gender* (1982), and *Schule ins Museum: Paidros und die Folgen* [School in the Museum: Paideia and Following] (1984). Even his later work, which focused on history, literacy, and the nature of the text, could be seen as developments from the CIDOC years, in the sense that it was trying to trace historical developments analogous to or directly related to the issues he had covered earlier: *H_2O and Waters of Forgetfulness: Reflections on the Historicity of "Stuff"* (1985), *ABC: The Alphabetization of the Popular Mind* (1988), *In the Mirror of the Past: Lectures and Addresses, 1978–1990* (1992), and *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary on Hugh's Didascalion* (1993).

To analyze all of these works and to trace their connections to CIDOC and to each other could be the work of a lifetime and would surely demand more than part of a chapter in a work of history. Nevertheless, Illich's ideas demand a certain amount of attention, for they were important enough to him that he devoted years of his life to their development and propagation. Therefore the rest of this chapter examines some of the main themes in the work that came out of his CIDOC

years, with special attention given to *Deschooling Society* and *Medical Nemesis*, his most popular, influential, and controversial books.

Deschooling Society

> Many students, especially those who are poor, intuitively know what the schools do for them. They school them to confuse process and substance. Once these become blurred, a new logic is assumed: the more treatment there is, the better are the results; or, escalation leads to success. The pupil is thereby "schooled" to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new. His imagination is "schooled" to accept service in place of value. Medical treatment is mistaken for health care, social work for the improvement of community life, police protection for safety, military poise for national security, the rat race for productive work. Health, learning, dignity, independence, and creative endeavor are defined as little more than the performance of institutions which claim to serve these ends, and their improvement is made to depend on allocating more resources to the management of hospitals, school, and other agencies in question.[20]

So opened *Deschooling Society*, a 116-page firecracker of a book that used hyperbole, aphorism, wit, and mythological allusion to attack what Illich considered one of the major shibboleths of the modern world. As the title and the opening lines made clear, the book's focus was broader than schools and education; it was about *society*. Since almost everybody had experienced the school, it served as a convenient example of a larger phenomenon. Illich, although truly concerned about education, saw the larger problem as the "institutionalization of values" or the transformation of human needs into "demands for commodities." This occurred, he believed, "when health, education, personal mobility, welfare or psychological healing are defined as results of services or treatments." For example, teaching and learning were to him great human goods, but "schooling," by

which he meant not simply schools and education but the mandated, long-term, highly regulated process by which education consumers obtained credentials, was the source of "global degradation and modernized misery."[21]

Illich believed that true learning was a highly personal experience that happened mostly "outside school," "casually," and "as a result of odd circumstances." Specific skills such as a second language or computer programming might benefit from traditional rote learning under the direction of an expert instructor if the student was highly motivated, but this did not imply that all the citizens of society should be forced to go through a twelve-year program managed by bureaucrats and administered by credentialed "teachers."[22]

Schooling, asserted Illich, rested on the unfounded assumptions that children belonged in school, that children were pupils by definition, and that the school rightly demanded great portions of their waking hours. These beliefs, each of which Illich challenged, amounted to a "creed that grants salvation only through the school." In this new church, teachers functioned as priests who presided over their own "sacred ritual" and students were forced to attend school as if it were some sort of "sacred territory."[23] All this was objectionable in itself, since it was false and even blasphemous, but what students actually encountered in school was even worse.

"School," argued Illich, "prepares for the alienating institutionalization of life by teaching the need to be taught. Once this lesson is learned, people lose their incentive to grow in independence." The only thing that "schooled" people were good for was joining another institution. Schooling did not teach its students English, mathematics, history, or biology; it taught them to pursue hollow abstractions such as attendance and credentials. By 1970, 62 million Americans out of a population of 140 million were in school as teachers or students. How could so many people be fooled by such an obvious fraud? He suggested that the school was a classic "manipulative institution" that could only exist because of rules and regulations that compelled participation and that disguised its iron hand with "therapeutic and compassionate" language. Most children would not attend school if

not forced; most of those who did attend would drop out before high school; only an array of regulations, enforced both by law and by an ever-growing bureaucracy, could maintain the enormous education establishment.[24]

Schooling had an even more devastating effect outside of the West, where well-intentioned governments believed the myth that twelve years of Western-style mandatory education would bring great benefits to their societies. Instead, Illich believed, they would indebt their nations, exacerbate class differences, and produce no true educational gains. If schooling did not work in the West, there was no reason to believe it would work in Latin America or elsewhere. The poverty of the developing world meant also that governments would spend money they could ill afford to waste, throwing it away at a time when their citizens were literally starving.[25]

Illich's first job was to expose the modern mythology of schooling, and much of *Deschooling Society* was devoted to that task, but there was, of course, a second task: He had to propose educational alternatives. How were people going to learn without the traditional school? Illich had several ideas, all hinging on the notions of personal responsibility, independence, and freedom. He proposed that instead of educational funding going to schools, it should go to individuals in a sort of "edu-credit" they could use as they saw fit. He also wanted to create reference works listing teachers who offered their expertise in specific subjects or skills. Similarly, he suggested the creation of networks of people interested in common problems or issues. These ideas all rested on his idea of the "convivial institution," which was "humbler and less noticeable" than the manipulative institutions he detested. Instead of forcing participation, convivial institutions merely offered services. Instead of promising lavish results and then delivering the very opposite, convivial institutions promised only an environment or an atmosphere in which people could pursue their own aims in the company of likeminded people. Instead of elaborate rulebooks and labyrinthine bureaucracies, convivial institutions had few rules and tiny administrative staffs, which existed only to protect a congenial environment.[26]

CIDOC as Convivial Institution

CIDOC was not just the place where Illich developed his ideas; it was also a model whose every aspect reflected Illich's cherished notions, especially those from *Deschooling Society*. Those who were confused about what Illich was proposing only needed to look at what he had created in Cuernavaca.

One misreading of that book held that Illich, because he believed that most learning occurred through "unhampered participation in a meaningful setting" rather than through instruction, was against authority, structure, rules, and rote learning. Those who believed this were shocked when they arrived in Cuernavaca and found that the Spanish program, in particular, was extremely rigorous. They could not believe that the man who wanted deschooling would subject them to a strict schedule, to *drills and memorization*. But Illich had said clearly, "The strongly motivated student who is faced with the task of a new and complex skill may benefit greatly from the discipline now associated with the old-fashioned schoolmaster." The student's motivation was, of course, as important as the teacher's methods, for such a dynamic would work only when the student had chosen to devote himself to the rigorous demands of such a teacher. Nevertheless, Illich had no problem with stodgy "drill teaching."[27] He was against mandatory schooling, against institutionalization, against the school as a form of social control, but not against traditional methods of teaching or even against school per se.

CIDOC also illustrated Illich's beliefs about credentials. In *Deschooling Society* he had come out strongly against the way in which schools gave people credentials that had little or no relationship to their actual skills and knowledge but reflected only the amount of time they had spent in school, which in turn usually reflected their socioeconomic background. Illich's formative experience with this issue came in 1956 when his friend Gerry Morris had had the responsibility of teaching Spanish to 300 priests, teachers, and administrators from the Archdiocese of New York as quickly and cheaply as possible. Morris put an ad on a Spanish-language radio station, hired a group of mostly teenaged

instructors, some of them high school dropouts, and within six months had at least three Spanish speakers in each of the 127 churches in the archdiocese. The secrets to the program's success were that the instructors were truly experts as native speakers of the language; that they had an excellent curriculum, in this case the one developed by U.S. Foreign Service Institute for American diplomats; and that they taught small classes of no more than four students. "No school program," noted Illich, "could have matched these results."[28]

In Cuernavaca Illich used virtually the same plan that Morris had used in New York. He hired young, intelligent, but uncredentialed men and women as his teachers, trained them in about a week to use the same U.S. Foreign Service Institute curriculum, and saw great success in teaching motivated students to speak Spanish almost fluently in four months. CIDOC received a lot of criticism over the years from both left and right, but everyone acknowledged that it excelled at teaching Spanish. Illich demonstrated conclusively that whether the teachers had been to college or even to high school was immaterial; what mattered was their expertise and, of course, the motivation of the students. In the same manner, no one graduated from CIDOC and no one received a license, certificate, or degree. The measure of its students' success was their proficiency in Spanish or their knowledge of new subjects.

Illich also structured CIDOC to emphasize the responsibility of individual students for their own education. Without a set course of study, without requirements, without grades, students were left to their own devices. Nobody from the CIDOC administration told them what to do; nobody helped them choose their courses; nobody called their parents if they skipped class. In fact, nobody from CIDOC really cared if they dropped off the face of the Earth. The onus for learning was on them and they were radically free to study what they thought was most important, or to study nothing at all. Trying to learn outside of what Illich called the "super-hygienic megawomb" of the traditional school led many not to the exhilaration of self-directed learning but to boredom, confusion, and malaise. Especially if they had been expecting the answer to their problems in a flash of enlightenment at the feet of a modern guru, the CIDOC experience could be predominantly one of

disappointment. People who had traveled long distances in search of revelation were astounded or even insulted to receive so little attention, to be given a catalogue with the expectation that they would make their own choices, but Illich was paying them a secret compliment—he was treating them as adults. At CIDOC people who were "all schooled up" began the process of letting go of their false expectations of the school; Illich not only did not mind but actually relished the frustration that the experience occasioned for many students.[29]

Similarly, CIDOC's ICLAS classes modeled Illich's proposals for opening up a "market" for skill learning and for "peer matching" as alternatives to schooling. Illich had proposed that, instead of schools, those interested in learning could seek out those who could teach them specific skills or, where appropriate, peers with whom they could work on a specific problem. ICLAS did this on a small scale. It had a catalogue of teachers and courses, many of which would not be offered unless students took the initiative to ask for them. The rule that teachers could collect their fees only after the first two-hour session reinforced the idea that the students were responsible for their own learning, that they knew what they were getting into.

As a whole, CIDOC displayed Illich's notion of the "convivial institution," which he contrasted with its modern nemesis, the "manipulative institution." In the latter category schools, prisons, and asylums forced compliance with their rules, created a sense of dependence and addiction, and produced results opposite of those they ostensibly strived for. These manipulative institutions, which Illich saw as characteristic of modernity, used the guise of "therapy" or "treatment" to compel unwilling consumption and participation. CIDOC, on the other hand, had only its set of three rules, which were designed to create a framework within which people could learn. The goal in Cuernavaca, as in all true convivial institutions, was to create a bare minimum of order within which people could choose for themselves. No one was compelled to be there; no one was compelled to stay. Those who were there had chosen to be there, to study a specific subject, to stay for specific time, and to leave when they were done.[30]

This conviviality, of course, was manifested most clearly in the small seminars gathered around Illich and other experts. Friends met to discuss issues of mutual concern, not to gain academic credit, or to secure promotions, or to make money, but simply because they had common interests. In this congenial company, they helped each other to learn in a way quite different from the competition and career-oriented activities of the modern university. Ideas were freely shared; criticism was calmly received. In the end, many members of such a seminar produced articles and books, all in some way dependent on the insights of others in the seminar but all, at the same time, presenting the author's unique perspective. For example, the "Alternatives in Education" seminars led not only to Illich's *Deschooling Society* and to Everett Reimer's *School is Dead* but also to Dennis Sullivan's *The Mask of Love*, a study of prisons.[31]

Medical Nemesis

> *The medical establishment has become a major threat to health. The disabling impact of professional control over medicine has reached the proportions of an epidemic.*[32]

Just as the opening passage from *Deschooling Society* had done, the first two sentences from *Medical Nemesis* plunged the reader into the heart of Illich's thesis. Like schools, he argued, modern medicine had reached the stage of counterproductivity and was actually making people, society, in fact, sick. Also like schools, medicine was only one example of the larger process by which the institutionalization of values was perverting and corrupting the contemporary world. Unlike the earlier work, however, *Medical Nemesis* was long (294 pages) and full of footnotes that often took up more than half of the page. In fact, many sentences had several footnotes, with one thirty-nine-word sentence having eight.[33]

He changed the format of his work for three reasons. First, he wanted to give those untrained in the medical field an extensive bibliography,

since part of his argument was that they needed to take responsibility for their own health. Second, he recognized that, of all modern experts, doctors were those "trained to the highest level of specialized incompetence" and would need as much evidence as possible to believe his heretical thesis.[34] Finally, although he felt that his larger message was getting across in Europe, he was concerned about its reception in the United States. "My image is still that of a 'radical Latin American,' a 'strange priest,' and at best a 'deschooler,'" he complained to his editor. "The main thesis I want to discuss has not been taken up."[35] Perhaps a more scholarly and scientific approach would reach the Americans.

Medical Nemesis was consequently a more difficult and a more ambitious book than his previous works. While deploying a staggering amount of information from professional and medical journals such as the *British Medical Journal*, *New England Journal of Medicine*, *Columbia Law Review,* and *Behavioral Science* and from scholarly works in at least a dozen fields to bolster its arguments, it was not a merely academic exercise. Since Illich was trying to change popular perceptions and ultimately the nature of society itself, much of the book was hortatory and practical.

The key concept in the book was "iatrogenesis," literally "physician-caused disease or injury" but applying more generally to harm suffered from the medical system. The literal sense of the term had been fairly well known by the time Illich wrote the book. Doctors and other health professionals could prescribe the wrong drug, remove the wrong leg, spread disease from one patient to another, or make any number of other costly mistakes. Even the right drugs could have side effects, and even technically proficient practitioners could inflict psychological harm on the vulnerable and lonely. As exasperated as Illich was by statistics that showed that twenty percent of patients in research hospitals received iatrogenic diseases and that ten percent of these diseases were contracted in the process of diagnosis, this literal iatrogenesis was not the focus of his attention. He was more concerned about what he termed social and cultural iatrogenesis.[36]

The social version of the problem was "the medicalization of life" in which people had become consumers of the commodity known as

"health care." They had lost their ability and their responsibility to care for themselves and were instead dependent on officially sanctioned experts to provide for them the increasingly expensive treatments that they were convinced they needed. Just as the autodidact was unemployable in a "schooled" society, the modern American who presumed to medicate himself or to pursue an alternative means of therapy risked censure and even incarceration. As the industrialized form of medicine exercised its radical monopoly, the country became a nation not of citizens but of patients.[37]

The cost of medical care to consumers had soared 330 percent in the previous twenty years and its percentage of the gross domestic product had gone from 4.5 percent in 1962 to 8.4 percent in 1975. Although many people understood that something was wrong, their solutions usually involved only modifications of the current system. Illich denied that such tinkering had any value. People had to admit that the health care system was a monster that could not be tamed but had to be destroyed. The problem was not primarily an issue of dollars and cents but was rather "a nationwide addiction to therapeutic relationships" based on the lie that "society has a supply of *health* locked away which can be mined and marketed."[38]

Although highly critical of the "guild" of physicians that dominated the medical system, Illich suggested that docile acceptance of the status of lifelong patients made the public equally guilty. The common person's willing embrace of this passive identity came from the understandable search for security and protection, but it had dire consequences. Life itself was being redefined as a "statistical phenomenon" that "must be institutionally planned and shaped." So extensive was the medicalization of life that its all of its stages, formerly seen as steps in maturation and eventual decline, were now transformed into "a series of periods of risk," each of which demanded some special form of therapy. "By turning the newborn into a hospitalized patient until he or she is certified as healthy, and by defining grandmother's complaint as a need for treatment rather than for patient respect," he argued, "the medical enterprise creates not only biologically formulated legitimacy for man the consumer but also new pressures for an escalation of the

megamachine." Most amazing to Illich was the now-universal fear of "unmedicated death," an almost superstitious horror of dying outside of the hospital.[39]

The third, or cultural, level of iatrogenesis was even more serious. The medicalization of society had reached the point of obliterating hallowed and ancient cultural resources that had allowed people to suffer with dignity. All traditional societies, Illich asserted, had maintained cultural traditions that taught their people the meanings and proper responses to birth, marriage, disease, calamity, and death. Health care, as such, had consisted of a life of "eating, drinking, working, breathing, loving, politicking, exercising, singing, dreaming, warring, and suffering" in the culturally relevant manner. In the new regime, health care was a sanitized, flat, "bureaucratic program" devoted to killing pain and denying death.[40]

Central to Illich's cultural argument was his distinction between pain and suffering: Pain was a physical sensation that human beings shared with animals, but suffering was a uniquely human *practice*. Suffering was an art that could lead to "patience, forbearance, courage, resignation, self-control, perseverance, and meekness," depending on the individual, the circumstance, and the cultural context. "Duty, love, fascination, routines, prayer, and compassion" could all serve as appropriate examples of this art. The worldview that produced such customs came from the belief "that reality is harsh and death inevitable."[41]

Modern medicine had neglected the deep human need for meaning and community and had transformed pain into "a demand for more drugs, hospitals, medical services, and other outputs of corporate impersonal care." Instead of care, a human action, and compassion, a human virtue, modern patients received a sort of "care" based on chemical and technological repair of faulty systems. In such a dynamic they became passive. To talk of a "craft of suffering" would strike most moderns as crazed, dangerous. The end result was a nightmarish society, he believed: "The new experience that has replaced dignified suffering is artificially prolonged, opaque, depersonalized maintenance. Increasingly, pain-killing turns people into unfeeling spectators of their own decaying selves."[42]

Critical Response

> *He's not really at home with that convivial tool, the book. He can hardly keep up an argument for a couple of pages, and certainly not for a whole volume. All of his four books add up to barely 500 small pages and could be printed as a single work; indeed they are a single work, saying the same few things over and over again more clumsily each year—and more humourlessly.*[43]

Illich's writing rarely led to boredom. His readers seemed to see him as either a new prophet or a dangerous demagogue. Again confining ourselves to *Deschooling Society* and *Medical Nemesis* for reasons of space, we will examine some of the main areas in which Illich's ideas were praised and criticized.

Deschooling Society generated a storm of interest, excitement, and controversy, with 570 writers producing 71 books and 351 articles about it and its companion book, Everett Reimer's *School is Dead*, in two years.[44] John Ohliger, surveying the early responses to the deschooling thesis, concluded that the Illich and Reimer had taken radical education critiques to a new level. Where an earlier generation of educational critics had been "literally incomprehensible" to the educational establishment, Illich and Reimer had made a radical critique clear and unavoidable. Ohliger pointed out that the president of Columbia University's influential Teachers College had felt it necessary to defend the very concept of the school in an article called "Who Needs Schools?" Similarly, the National Society for the Study of Education published a whole volume called *Farewell to Schools?* that responded to Illich and Reimer. In fact, almost every major academic journal of education in the United States devoted articles or entire issues to the deschooling thesis. Republican senator Mark Hatfield had taken Illich's thesis seriously enough to have one of his articles placed in the *Congressional Record*.[45]

All this interest should not be taken for acceptance. There were relatively few educational leaders who agreed with the full deschooling idea—that is, actually getting rid of the entire school system. To do so

would have meant eliminating their own positions. It was hard for even the most radical to envision a nation without schools or to imagine how they would make a living in such a society. In retrospect, the book probably had a larger impact on its non-elite readers, on individual parents who took their children out of the schools in the homeschooling movement, which grew dramatically in the 1970s and 1980s and had reached 1.5 million students by 2007.[46]

Many of those who rejected the idea of deschooling took Illich and Reimer seriously enough to write detailed rebuttals of their theory. The same cannot be said for the critics of *Medical Nemesis*. As with *Deschooling Society*, there was a small group of diehard medical practitioners who took the new argument as "gospel." However, Illich lost most physicians before he started because he was not a medical professional and most laymen because of the complexity and density of his writing style.

In one of the few book-length responses to the medicalization argument, a British physician saw many of the same symptoms in the medical system but concluded that Illich had misdiagnosed the causes and had presented a prescription that would produce "total disaster." "In almost every situation," argued the doctor, "Illich overstates his case and in some he presents a view which to the uninformed must be frankly misleading." An American doctor was even more negative, finding "statements and conclusions based on truths, half-truths, and facts quoted out of context," with the results of research "tailored to fit a preconceived line of argument."[47]

Another key objection to the book was its dense and convoluted style. As Marion Boyars, Illich's British editor, tried to find a newspaper or magazine to print excerpts from the book, she encountered considerable resistance. An editor from *The Observer* was tempted but found *Medical Nemesis* "shorter on logic than his other masterpieces." One British reader found "a great deal of unsupported allegation couched in language which may be that of philosophy but isn't English." Even a doctor who accepted much of Illich's message admitted, "A lot of people—from medical students to top physicians—tell me they find Ivan's style very difficult."[48]

A New Pilgrimage

On April 1, 1976, CIDOC marked the tenth anniversary of the opening of its Rancho Tetela campus with a large party with dancing and music for its employees and hundreds of guests. It also ceased operation. The library went to the Colegio de México, the country's elite research institution; some of the teachers started their own language schools; and the center's sixty-three employees split a war chest of excess funds gathered over the past two years that amounted to 150 percent of the total annual expenditure on salaries.[49]

As early as 1969 Illich had indicated that CIDOC was a limited-term project, not an institution that would continue indefinitely.[50] In 1973 he recognized that he had accomplished all that he had hoped to do when he began thinking in 1960 of setting up a missionary-training center. Since there was no other crusade to stop, since he and his colleagues had developed the kind of critiques of modern society that they had been attempting to develop, since the center had developed what Illich considered a "funny image," and since there was still a certain amount of physical danger to being a radical in Latin America, he began to think about closing the center. Even if these factors had not been present, there were two even more significant reasons for ending CIDOC, one practical and one philosophical. First, Illich believed that the cost of operating the center would soon rise drastically because of certain trends he deduced in the Mexican economy, threatening the monetary basis on which the center survived. Second, and more important, he believed that CIDOC was losing its unique atmosphere and that it was risking institutionalization.[51]

In 1973 Illich gathered CIDOC's employees and administrators for a three-day seminar in which he and some Mexican economists explained the dire financial situation that Mexico would probably face in the next few years. The group accepted Illich's suggestion that they plan for the eventual closure of CIDOC by putting all excess funds into a special account that would be divided equally among the sixty-three of them when the day came. Illich's intellectual colleagues, on the other hand, were shocked by the decision to end so successful an experiment

after such a short time. But Illich knew that its time was up. "You never know what will nurture the spirit of *philia* [friendship], while you can be certain what will corrupt it," he said later. "Spirit emerges by surprise, and it's a miracle when it abides; it is stifled by every attempt to secure it; it's debauched when you try to use it."[52]

CHAPTER NINE

GRAMMAR OF SILENCE

The grammar of silence is an art much more difficult to learn than the grammar of sounds.

Ivan Illich

I think he is either politically devious or politically naïve. I can't decide which.

Geoff Watts, journalist, after meeting Illich in 1975[1]

"I am distressed and discouraged to note," wrote John Holt to Ivan Illich in 1971, "how little even those people who spend many weeks or months at CIDOC understand what you are saying and how little their own lives or ways of thinking are touched by it."[2] It was surprising that the writing and teaching of someone as intelligent as Illich, someone who refined his arguments for years before putting them in their final form, caused so much confusion. Many of his friends and supporters longed for the day when he would produce a clear, direct, and simple speech or text, but he never did. The reason for this lack of lucidity was that most of his teaching and writing had a hidden purpose. In fact, Holt himself probably did not understand the full import of Illich's ideas.

There was more to Illich's decision to study education and other Western institutions in his CIDOC period (1966–76) than mistrust of institutionalization. Illich did not want to be a source of shame for the Church and he had been told specifically by Paul VI to stop speaking about the Church, so he stopped talking and writing as a priest and on overtly ecclesiastical matters, but he always was trying to understand the nature of the Church and its relationship to his age. From

the 1970s to the 1990s, as he evolved from someone seen as a brilliant social critic to someone more often seen as an eccentric savant, he was working on a massive intellectual project that was an encoded theology of the Church and its relationship to the West.

The Illich Code

As early as 1970 James Morton, director of Chicago's Urban Training Center, introduced a book by Illich by pointing to the hidden aspects of Illich's thought: "Illich uses the apophatic logic of negative theology to mark the consistency of revelation." Illich, Morton said, had created "a grammar in which *silence* is the highest mode of communication, *poverty* the vehicle for carrying the most meaningful, creative, and richest act, and *powerlessness* the means for demonstrating authoritative control."[3] Just as none of the Catholic tradition's four senses of scripture—literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogical—denied the other three senses, Morton's interpretation did not deny the most obvious meanings of Illich's words; it did, however, make clear that there was much below the surface that casual readings could miss.[4]

Apophasis, or negative theology, is a form of philosophical and theological reflection that literally "says no"—that is, that reveals something by not mentioning it or by denying attributes. There is a long Christian apophatic tradition, including Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–94), Meister Eckhart (c. 1260–1328), and Saint John of the Cross (1542–91), that has continued in recent times in the work of writers like Thomas Merton (1915–68) and Arthur H. Armstrong (1909–97). Armstrong called for a "critical negation of all affirmations which one can make about God, followed by an equally critical negation of our negations."[5] Illich differed from these writers in that while they all practiced a sort of open and literal apophasis—they *explicitly* denied certain propositions about God—he obscured his apophatic writings by using social and political critique as a sort of code. Except for some trusted friends, there were few readers who understood that Illich was using this hidden apophatic approach.

In fact, many might still be tempted to doubt that works such as *Deschooling Society*, which was debated for years purely in terms of its message about schools and which today continues to receive significant attention as a work on educational policy, had anything to do with theology, if it were not for the overwhelming evidence that came out in the 1980s and 1990s.

Even before Illich revealed his coded apophatic approach, he and others gave hints to its existence. James Morton's identification of Illich's theological approach in 1970 has already been mentioned. A year later, in a speech to the Thomas More Association of Chicago, Illich himself stated, "My only reason personally, intimately, for moving into analysis of the school was in order to provide an analysis for what happened really to the church." The vast majority of readers and audiences, of course, never received this message because Illich shared this interpretive key only when "talking among friends, mostly probably fellow Catholics."[6]

CIDOC also was full of clues and even overt apophatic statements, but few students seemed to put them together. Perhaps the most perceptive of Illich's observers in the 1970s was Robert Merideth, the chair of American Studies at the University of California at Davis, who visited CIDOC in 1972. Merideth appreciated much of what he found there, but in the end he rejected Illich and CIDOC as political models, largely because of the "theological core of Illich's work," which for him depended on "a set of premises unacceptable if reality and uncertainty are fully to be acknowledged." Unlike other readers of Illich, he concluded that the theological issues infused Illich's work and were inseparable from his other ideas. He saw an unhelpful mixing of theology and social criticism in *Deschooling Society*, in CIDOC itself, and in Illich's policy of radical questioning of society's certainties. To Merideth, *Deschooling Society* was clearly about the church, CIDOC was only superficially secular, and Illich's doubt was different from the agnosticism that Merideth espoused because Illich's questions about society flowed out of "controlling theological and religious certainties" about Christ and the Church. Merideth was stimulated and intrigued by his time at CIDOC but was also made uncomfortable, in the manner of someone

hearing a vulgar joke at a solemn occasion: "What makes its surface and tone disconcerting and disorienting, like its Mexican context, is a special configuration of faith and ideology never easily visible, often a matter of silences, but always controlling."[7]

Even when Illich explained his hidden apophatic approach to his closest friends, they had a hard time believing him. Barbara Duden, a historian of medicine with whom he lived and worked for almost twenty years, was "disturbed" by Illich's frequent comment that the subject of the *Medical Nemesis* could as easily have been the postal service because the underlying corruption of the West, not medicine itself, was the true object of his study.[8] She eventually came to understand, though, that "he treats the flesh apophatically" and that his study of medicine always had in the background the incarnation and the cross of Christ.[9]

In the 1990s Illich began to explain his apophatic approach more openly. In 1996, he addressed a group of Catholic philosophers in Los Angeles, the first time he had spoken publically to an explicitly Catholic group since his speech to the Thomas More Association in 1971. With an air of relief, Illich said that his secular career had been like "a balancing act" on a tightrope and that he was glad at last to speak openly about the meaning of his work. "When speaking in Philadelphia or Bremen," he said, "I felt I ought to shroud my ultimate motive in apophasy. I did not want to be taken for a proselytizer, a fundamentalist—or worse, a Catholic theologian."[10]

In 2003 Illich's longtime friend Lee Hoinacki, who had been one of the key figures in both CIF and CIDOC, clarified Illich's approach even further. "In the books and articles published after 1970, Ivan Illich proceeded in an apophatic mode out of which he gradually emerged toward the end of his life," confirmed Hoinacki. Without understanding this approach, the reader could achieve only a "superficial understanding" of his work. More intriguing still, Hoinacki claimed that Illich had lived "an apophatic public life." In fact, for the whole post-1970 period, "the principal analytical concept giving intelligibility to the way he lived, to what he said and wrote, is his apophatic theological stance."[11] This understanding—the idea that Illich wrote and lived

apophatically—underlines the coherence of Illich's life in the 1970s and thereafter. The apophatic perspective connects Illich's career in the 1970s as a social critic clearly and unambiguously to his previous life as a priest and anti-missionary controversialist. With the apophatic perspective, the 1970s unfolds as a *deepening* of his anti-missionary crusade, rather than as a diversion or capitulation.

Starting in the late 1980s Illich revealed the theological underpinnings of his work in a series of interviews with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's David Cayley. In the first set of interviews, published in *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, Illich provided only the kernel of his theology, a sort of historical theology or religious philosophy of history, but it was so suggestive and so unlike anything that Cayley had expected him to say that he made it the basis of a second set of interviews, published in *The Rivers North of the Future*.[12]

The Hidden Word

Although Illich did not articulate his historical theology comprehensively until interviewed by Cayley in 1997, by the 1970s most of its elements were detectable in his thought. Central to this theology were two concerns that he eventually concluded were integrally connected: the incarnation of Christ and the nature of the Church. During his years in New York, Puerto Rico, and Cuernavaca, Illich gradually developed a wide-ranging theory based on the coming of Christ in the flesh and the personal nature of the Church that explained not just the sickness of the contemporary Church but also the crisis of Western modernity. This section traces the development of his thought; the next section presents a sketch of his mature theology.

In 1956 Illich asserted that the incarnation was the "infinite prototype of missionary activity." Just as the Son of God assumed human flesh and human nature in a "kenosis," or emptying of himself, so too the missionary must let go of his own culture, convictions, and habits to bring Christ to another people. The missionary for Illich was in this way "an instrument of the Incarnation." As early as 1962 Illich

connected this incarnational view of the missionary with his understanding of the Church. "The Incarnation," he suggested, "is the message of God to men, the Word of God become Jew, the Word of God as a member of a people. The Church is this same message carried by ever new messengers into ever new languages and communities." Thus the Church was fundamentally unlike worldly organizations but was actually "the social continuation of the Incarnation." As early as his first training session at CIF Illich also brought out a sinister side of the incarnation. The "culminating paradox" of God's becoming man was that through "freely willed powerlessness" Christ saved the world yet failed to save his friend Judas. There was thus, in the incarnation, incredible blessing available to all, but at the same time new forms of suffering, exemplified most clearly by Christ's crucifixion, but also in Mary's grief for her tortured son and in Judas's betrayal, despair, and suicide.[13]

The ideas in the previous paragraph came out mostly in pastoral settings and, although not systematically developed, were not cloaked in apophasis. Once Illich assumed a public posture as someone openly opposing Church practices, he began to camouflage his theology. The most obvious purpose of 1967's "The Seamy Side of Charity" (discussed in Chapter Five) was to stop the Catholic missionary initiative in Latin America and more broadly to stop "development" and volunteerism in the region. Less apparent was that Illich was so vehement in his denunciation of the missionary initiative, risking his public ministry, because he saw this form of missions as a caricature of Christ's call to bring the Gospel to all nations. The Peace Corps, American cultural imperialism, the spread of American business models—these really were evils in his mind, but much worse was the perversion of the Body of Christ into "the Lord's supermarket, with catechisms, liturgy, and other means of grace heavily in stock." Lay Catholics would be transformed into "consumers" of sacred commodities, priests into "executive, administrative, and financial talent."[14]

The violence of the most striking image in "The Seamy Side"—in which Illich called for the application of "the knife" to the missionary movement—came not from a hatred of Americans but from love for

the Body of Christ, as the final paragraph clearly showed. There, the hyperbole and bombastic rhetoric faded away and Illich contemplated the nature of the Church. "In fear," he concluded, "we plan *our* Church with statistics, rather than trustingly search for the living Church which is right among us." He was trying to contrast the empty abstraction of a pseudo-church based on planning and statistics with the real thing, a living and personal Church.[15]

Even when Illich more directly attacked the institutionalization of the Church, he was not understood. "The Vanishing Clergyman" (1968) stoked the fires of controversy (see Chapter Five), but its essential point usually went unnoticed or unappreciated. Readers focused on proposals about married deacons and informal Christian communities. Much more than a piece about clerical celibacy and lay ministry, however, the essay was a cry of the heart against a Church that was losing its soul. It was full of words and phrases such as "institutional Church," "operational structure," "fulltime employees," "ministerial operations," "personnel," "employees," and "employment market." Each one of these, when applied to the Church, was a rebuke. Each term represented an outrageous perversion, a descent from the glory of Christ's body to the banality of corporate bureaucracy. As with "The Seamy Side," though, the essay ended with a ray of hope. "The Spirit, continually re-creating the Church," he said, "can be trusted." Through the liturgy the Church would recover "love's *personal* meaning."[16]

Deschooling Society represented Illich's adoption of hidden apophasis as his *modus operandi*. The book (analyzed in Chapter Eight) openly critiqued the counterproductivity of mandatory public education; less openly it denounced hubris and idolatry inside the Church. As Illich told the Thomas More Association, studying schools was his way of investigating what had happened to the Church; the most obvious answer was that the Church too had become institutionalized. What Illich said about the school—that it was counterproductive, deadly, and dehumanizing, as discussed in the previous chapter—could therefore be applied even more to the Church. In the process of becoming an impersonal institution, the Church had obscured its heart of love and injured the very people it was trying to help. In its essence the Church,

Illich was arguing, was not and could not ever be an institution; even to think of it as an institution was to do it damage.[17]

Since Illich was a priest, many readers probably had a dim sense that he was talking about the Church to some extent, and various passages made the connection more explicit but never quite spelled it out. The final chapter of the book, "The Rebirth of Epimethean Man," came closest to revealing Illich's theological agenda but stopped just short of clarity. Using the Greek myths of the brothers Prometheus and Epimetheus, Illich meditated on the contrast between hope and expectation. Prometheus, who had stolen fire from Zeus and taught men to use it, stood for the hubris of modern man, who had lost a proper sense of himself and his relation to the gods and thought therefore that he could engineer a glorious future without reference to divine law. The crisis of the West corresponded to Prometheus's punishment of eternal suffering. Epimetheus, a fool who failed to plan ahead and allowed Pandora to open her infamous box of plagues, had nevertheless held on to one good thing, hope. Illich saw in the silly, defeated Epimetheus an alternative to Prometheus's hubris.

Therefore he called for a rebirth of the Epimethean spirit, which he characterized as one of hope, in contrast with the Promethean spirit of expectation. Hope meant "trusting faith in the goodness of nature" and focused on "a person from whom we await a gift." Expectation, in contrast, was based on probabilities, predictions, and institutions. Modern man *expected* that he could do anything and everything through the construction of the right institutions, but this was to Illich both a misreading of a desperate situation and a blasphemy. The Epimethean solution restored man to his proper and humble role in God's world. Of course, the designers of school systems were hereby indicted as Prometheans expecting to force the future, but so too were any Christians who thought that power, regulation, and planning had any part in the Church. It was not the Church's role *to make* anything happen through institutional processes; it was the Church's role *to hope* in the person of Christ.[18]

Medical Nemesis made similar points about institutionalization but also delved into an area at the heart of Christianity, suffering and death.

"Intensive care," Illich argued, "is but the culmination of a public worship organized around a medical priesthood struggling against death." This enterprise of pain killing and death denial was bad enough in its stultifying and numbing effect on the human person, but its true horror was most evident when viewed from the perspective of the passion of Christ. The traditional Christian response to pain had been an "art of suffering" that gave the believer "an opportunity for closer association with the Savior on the Cross." In a drug-induced stupor, medicated and managed to the last instant of life, the modern patient had little awareness of being human and even less ability to suffer in conscious communion with Christ. This medicalization of life was not just bad for health; it was a "diabolical" depersonalization that separated humanity from God.[19]

Without going into great detail, it is worth noting some of the ways in which theology shaped some of Illich's other works. *Tools for Conviviality* was a meditation on the Epimethean spirit, an attempt to imagine a truly human society living in humility and grace. *Energy and Equity* took a more negative approach to the same issue, exposing the dehumanizing effects of speed and high energy use. *Gender*, according to Hoinacki Illich's most complex apophatic work, suggested that just as the three persons of the Trinity had no existence apart from their relationships to each other, so too man and woman found their true meaning in relationship to each other. The Virgin Mary, for example, could not be truly understood if she was viewed merely as a generic human being; she must be seen as a woman and mother to the man Christ.[20] In the 1990s, as he worked on what would become *In the Vineyard of the Text* and several shorter works, Illich was looking at the ways in which in modern usage words such as "life," "population," and "immunity" had no actual content but rather sowed illusion and conferred power on their users. They were "neither innocent figments nor effective representations of reality, but powerful generators of a new kind of 'stuff'"; they were in fact "the ectoplasm from which that exousia [power] is woven that appears in Paul and Apok [Revelation] 13."[21] In the present evil age, he came to believe, words too had been

corrupted and turned to evil purposes, specifically the construction of an impersonal counterfeit of human society.

The Mature Theory

At the heart of Illich's thought were two ideas that he usually expressed in Latin: *corruptio optimi quae est pessima* (the corruption of the best is the worst) and *mysterium iniquitatis* (the mystery of evil). The first phrase was a version of a saying that had appeared in multiple forms in European history, including in Shakespeare, and that Illich applied to the Church. The second, referring to a secret power of evil in Paul's letter to the Thessalonians, was interpreted by Illich to refer to the depersonalization that occurred when Christian virtues were institutionalized. In effect, the mystery of evil was that something heavenly (the Church) could birth something infernal (institutionalization). Jacques Maritain had probably introduced Illich to the idea that modernity was a corruption of Christianity; what was distinctive about Illich's thought was his connection of the two ideas, his identification of institutionalization as both the great evil of the modern age and as a perversion of Christianity.[22]

Scholars have long debated the relationship of Christianity to modernity but tend to conclude either that modernity was a rejection of Christianity or a fulfillment of Christianity. Illich complicated both of these ideas by presenting the hypothesis that the modern West was a corruption or perversion of Christianity. By this he meant that the essential features of modernity were direct outgrowths of Christianity that had been distorted and disfigured into caricatures of Christian virtues and that accomplished the opposite of their original purposes.

Christians had been called to practice hospitality and had indeed done so in a radical and countercultural way during their early years in the Roman empire, but, especially after Christianity became respectable, this individual orientation toward gracious sharing had faded as official houses of hospitality were created. Over the centuries hospitals

totally replaced hospitality in Europe; an institution excused Christians from the call to serve the stranger and the suffering.

To Illich, the history of the West was thus the tragedy of the institutionalization of Christianity, as the Church, truly the Body of Christ, adopted the false and dangerous guise of an institution. Former activities of the Church hardened into institutions that sloughed off into the secular world, creating the essential features of modernity. In the Church there still survived an essential, living core that Illich loved, but he had no use for the hard outer shell of dead and impersonal institutions. He also opposed secular institutions, bastards of the Church that had adopted the alluring appearance of new faiths but ultimately had nothing to deliver except false expectations and shattered lives. Modern institutions promised heavenly results, seduced entire societies, and then disfigured human beings and human society to such an extent that the *imago dei* was barely recognizable.[23]

According to Illich, therefore, the main problem in the West was a problem in the Church. There was legitimate and needed work to be done in deschooling society—that is, ending compulsory public education—and in deinstitutionalizing other aspects of the West, but ultimately these deadly institutions were symptoms of the crisis in the Church. If the Church had not succumbed to institutionalization, those other institutions would not even have come into existence. Illich's apophasis, therefore, had two levels. He denied that mandatory schooling was true learning or teaching, that modern medicine was true healing, and that economic development was true compassion; at the deeper level he denied that the Church was a bureaucracy, that the human body was a machine, and that death and suffering could be avoided.[24]

Undergirding these ideas was Illich's radical emphasis on personhood. The Trinity, three persons in one Godhead, was personal and relational in its essence. Man was already made in God's image and thus personal and relational, but the incarnation of Christ infused a new dignity and meaning into the human body. Christ lived, suffered, and died as a fleshly human. His life of healing, teaching, and sacrifice consequently served as a model of the truly human existence.[25]

Christ, Illich emphasized, did not set up an institution but rather left behind his Body, the Church. The Church was thus also for him personal and relational. Any attempt by that Body to create institutions, bureaucracies, and systems to take care of perceived "needs" was thus a disfiguring of that Body, a depersonalization. The Church, Illich believed, was to respond to Christ's call to emulate the Good Samaritan in helping the traveler who had been attacked, not to establish impersonal methods of dealing with "problems."[26]

The incarnation had birthed a new kind of love in the world, a love that, like the Samaritan's unforced decision to care for a bleeding Jew by the side of the road, transcended social, political, religious, and ethnic boundaries. At the same time, the incarnation had also unleashed in the world a new sort of horror, Illich's "mystery of evil." Instead of freely choosing to care for the bleeding man, the Church could choose, for example, to set up a committee to establish a house of care for bleeding men and to mandate that all priests spend two hours per week at such an establishment and that all churches contribute seven percent of their income to this problem. Instead of radical self-giving love, the Church might choose institutionalization, which provided only a caricature of care, and, even worse, perverted its own nature in the process.[27]

When spun off in an independent secular version, first in the West and then into the rest of the world, institutionalized "caring," Illich argued, was literally diabolical. That is, it maintained an air of great solemnity while directly opposing the original call of Christ. The Samaritan humanized the bleeding Jew while simultaneously becoming more human himself in his act of compassion; the modern "patient" was doled out the commodity known as "health" in a setting that treated him like a cog in a machine. Thus, the corruption of the Church led to the mysterious evil of institutionalization in the modern West, even among those who knew nothing of Christianity or rejected its claims. In fact, Western modernity—technological, bureaucratic, liberal, regulated, global—was in almost every aspect a corruption of some Christian virtue.[28]

Consequently, the West's export of its institutions to the rest of the word was for Illich an ironic tragedy, since those institutions were

what was worst about the West. It was almost as if, instead of the Good Samaritan, a well-intentioned but highly contagious merchant had stopped to help the man lying by the side of the road. Even if the merchant applied the best medicines to the man's wounds, he could not prevent infecting the man with his terrible disease. In the same way, missionaries from the West, especially from the United States, which Illich perceived as suffering from the most advanced case of institutionalization, could not help but spread their disease. As dangerous as institutionalization was in the West, it was even more deadly in Latin America. The wealthy West could better afford the terrible cost of institutionalization, papering over the debilitating effects of one institution with the creation of new institutions designed to deal with the previous one's problems. Latin America, however, was like a sick man who, seeing the rich merchant's ministrations to the traveler, called out for the merchant to come next to him. From Illich's perspective, almost any action—from shaming the merchant to knocking him into a ditch—was justified to prevent the merchant from spreading his deadly disease.

CONCLUSION

There were several major turning points in Illich's life: his decision to become a priest, his choice to leave academia to serve Puerto Ricans in New York City, his public criticism of the Puerto Rican bishops, his attack on the Catholic missionary initiative in Latin America, his decision to shut down CIDOC. Each of these decisions closed a chapter of his life and propelled him into something new and different. As influential as the other decisions were, the hinge of Illich's life and the impetus for many of his most important ideas was his attack on the Catholic missionary initiative in Latin America.

From his ordination until his "irrevocable" decision in January 1969 to renounce his clerical duties, Illich lived primarily as a priest; after that point he lived primarily as a scholar and intellectual. The late Puerto Rico years, the CIF years, and the early CIDOC years, therefore, were the time during which he made the pivotal decisions in his life, the time during which he made the transition from Illich the priest to Illich the intellectual. This period from 1959 until 1968 also represents the best window into the meaning of Illich's life. It stands as the culmination of his priestly work and it holds the seeds of his future work—all his criticisms of Western institutions and investigations of modernity.

What makes these years stand out is that during the entire period Illich devoted himself to opposing the plans and desires of the American bishops, the Latin American bishops, and three popes. He did not do anything like this early in his career as a priest in Rome or New York and he did not do it in his later career as a public intellectual. Of course, he was controversial and difficult to work with as a young priest, and of course, his ideas in the 1970s and later years raised clerical eyebrows; but being difficult is a far cry from direct and ongoing

opposition to the clearly stated objectives of the highest authorities in the Church. Clearly, the anomaly of Illich's prolonged disobedience in the matter of the missionary initiative marks the depth of his conviction that the missionary project was so dangerous for Latin America that it should be resisted at any cost. He did something he had never done before and would never do again, at the risk of his priestly ministry and, if one takes Catholic doctrine seriously, as he surely did, perhaps even at the risk of his soul.

Three Popes and a Council

Vatican II spoke clearly about missions. The Church, said the council, "is missionary by her very nature." By means of preaching and proclamation of the Gospel message, the Church had the duty to make herself "fully present to all men or nations." Missionary action should take place not just where Christ was unknown, but also in lands usually considered already Christian. "This mission action," said the council, "should also furnish help to those churches founded long since, which are in a certain state of regression or weakness." Once churches were founded in a given land, those new churches should send missionaries—priests, religious, laity, permanent and short-term—to their own more remote areas and to other nations. Missionary activity was, in fact, "the greatest and holiest task of the Church."[1]

The council's high view of missions coincided with the attitude of popes Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI. These three popes affirmed missions in general and to Latin America in particular. In light of the inroads being made by Protestantism, secularism, and Marxism and because of a severe shortage of priests, in 1955 Pius XII called for a major program of renewal for Latin America, including the coming of many priests from other lands and the use of the radio and the press to re-evangelize the culture. He asked Cardinal Cushing of Boston specifically to send many American priests to Latin America. In 1958 Pius created the Pontifical Commission for Latin America to coordinate the large missionary aid program that he envisioned. John XXIII was

more specific and more insistent. He brought the U.S. and Latin American bishops together in 1959 to plan for American aid to the region, called for ten percent of all American religious to go to Latin America, and extended his blessing to the lay missionary organization known as Papal Volunteers for Latin America. In fact, during his short papacy (1958 to 1963), John issued thirty-three documents calling for aid to Latin America, including nine specifically addressed to the bishops of the United States and Canada. Finally, Paul VI, if anything, asked for an even higher commitment from the American Church, adding to John's call for ten percent of American religious a call for ten percent of *all* American priests to go to Latin America.[2]

In short, (1) Vatican II affirmed the missionary nature of the Catholic Church and clarified that already Catholic lands often required missionary assistance, and (2) the popes who served during the entirety of Illich's active priesthood wanted the American Church to aid the Latin American Church by sending massive numbers of American men and women, lay, clerical, and religious, to Latin America. Mission was not replaced by the council's affirmation of ecumenism and sending multitudes of Americans was not a stray thought that happened to cross the mind of one pope; rather, mission was essential to the Church's identity and sending Americans to Latin America was the clearly articulated policy of Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI from 1955 to 1978.

Illich's obvious intelligence and great knowledge preclude the possibility that he misunderstood the Church's doctrine on missions or the popes' policies on U.S. aid to Latin America. That Illich's campaign against the missionary initiative in Latin America was carried out in the full knowledge that he was opposing the desires and requests of three popes indicated the extreme nature of Illich's aversion to that initiative. In his mind it was not properly Catholic missionary activity at all but rather a diabolical perversion that would actually lead Latin America away from the true faith. With due appreciation for the strength of this belief and experiences that formed it, it seems that in this one area, at least, Illich was flirting with the Promethean arrogance that he condemned in others.[3] Illich convinced himself that he knew better than one pope, then another, and then another. He knew better

than the Pontifical Commission on Latin America. He knew better than the American and Latin American bishops. He knew better than the Second Vatican Council. The popes and the bishops and the most important Church council since the Council of Trent were all wrong: American missionaries were so dangerous that he was justified in using any means necessary to foil their plans.

The Missionary Encounter

The missing procedure in Illich's investigations was a careful inquiry into the nature of mission itself. He knew European history backwards and forwards; he consumed sociological, political, literary, and religious accounts of any society that interested him until he understood it to a remarkable depth. He did not, however, perform equivalent research into the nature of missions; the dynamics of the missionary encounter; or the cultural, psychological, political, and sociological mélange created when Africans, Asians, or Latin Americans encountered the West on the mission field. He seems to have had some respect for the early Spanish missionaries to Aztec Mexico, but his disdain for the American missioners of his own day eventually overwhelmed the pro-missionary views that he once had expressed in essays such as "Missionary Poverty" and "Missionary Silence."[4] Personal experience with oafish priests in Puerto Rico, Americanizing missionaries in Colombia, and indelicate Papal Volunteers in Cuernavaca led him not to deeper reflection but to setting aside or bracketing his beliefs about missions. If questioned directly he affirmed the missionary call of the Church, but in practice he did not want to see missionary activity in Latin America or other areas of the developing world.[5] Uncharacteristically, he dropped the issue of mission before he came to any serious conclusions about its meaning in the modern world.

Of course, he was in good company. The mainstream historiography of missions in the last century has interpreted mission as a tool of imperialism, first in the political sense, with missions working hand and in hand with colonial governments, and second in the ideological

sense, as the justification for conquest and the ideological subjugator of colonial populations. To take an influential example, Jean and John Comaroff have argued that missionaries in southern Africa in the nineteenth century served as agents of colonialism by incorporating Tswana communities into the British dominion and by colonizing their culture through the dialectical process of hegemony. Christianity is taken in this view as a sort of false consciousness that the Tswana adopted at their own peril, embodying as it did the very mindset that justified their subordination.[6] There is of course some truth to this view. Missionaries did participate in colonial efforts around the world, often with the conscious goal of spreading not only Christianity but also their own Western civilization; effects like those described by the Comaroffs were visible in every former mission land. Nevertheless, in recent decades the mission-as-colonialism, mission-as-hegemony explanation has been challenged as incomplete.

The most important challenge has come from the phenomenal growth of Christianity outside of the West. Today more Christians live in Africa, Asia, and Latin America than in Europe and North America, and Africa, not Europe, is the global center of Christianity.[7] As Christianity has declined almost to irrelevance in Europe, with, for example more people in Britain attending mosques than the Church of England in any given week, Christianity continues to expand in the global South.[8] Decolonization in Africa and Asia in the 1960s and 1970s led not to the jettisoning of Christianity as a relic of colonialism but rather to the massive growth of the faith. "The process of decolonization," argues Dana Robert, "began severing the connection between Christianity and European colonialism." In fact, even under colonialism, "indigenous Christians—Bible women, evangelists, catechists, and prophets—were all along the most effective interpreters of Christianity to their own people" because "Christianity was already being indigenized before the colonizers departed."[9]

If the missionaries' message could be indigenized to such an extent, it stands to reason that more than ideological exploitation was taking place in the missionary encounter. As Lamin Sanneh has emphasized, the traditional historiography of missions is in fact Eurocentric, since

"sending rather than *receiving* takes centre stage, accounting for everything in terms of how it squares with the Western worldview." He proposes instead that the mission field is a site of dynamic encounter in which missionaries, "acculturated aliens abroad and alienated citizens at home," soon become marginal to the religious growth that they have fostered, while indigenous Christians become the dominant actors, often revitalizing their own cultures with new Christian resources. Regardless of their intentions, and often in direct contradiction of their intentions, missionaries can serve as catalysts of cultural revival.[10] In fact, exactly such a cultural process was occurring in Mexico while Illich was sabotaging the Catholic missionary initiative, as thousands of Tzeltals and Tzotzils, discriminated against by mestizo Mexicans and exploited by their own socio-religious leaders, adopted Protestantism and more orthodox versions of Catholicism and learned to read the Bible in their own languages, thereby initiating ethnic renaissances.[11]

The Irony of Ivan Illich

Illich's own publication, *CIF Reports*, admitted that most Latin Americans had at best a superficial understanding of Catholicism. How could this not be the case? As the region's population exploded in the mid-twentieth century there were simply too many people for the current Catholic approach to ministry to reach. As rural populations migrated to shantytowns on the outskirts of a few massive cities, there were almost no new churches, schools, or other obvious mechanisms for reaching the new arrivals.[12] Therefore, Illich's sabotage of the missionary initiative effectively meant that these people continued to live on the margins of Catholic life. This marginalization was not just a religious issue but a cultural one as well, for without understanding Catholic teaching, without frequent and knowledgeable participation in its rites, there was no way for them to make sense, at least Catholic sense, of their rapidly changing world. It was Illich's judgment that the evils of "the American way of life" outweighed the sacraments, the teaching, and the practical service that American missionaries could have

provided, but he simply could not have predicted how thousands of Latin American communities might have responded to the thousands of missionaries that never came to the region. Is it not possible that rural Catholic religion might have transformed itself into a living and informed faith in the dynamic tension provided by an American missionary and the inhospitable urban environment? We will never know what cultural treasures, not to mention simple lives of faith, were lost when newly urban Latin Americans surrendered to secularism, consumerism, and anomie because there was simply nothing Catholic in their desolate neighborhoods.[13]

Illich's derailing of the Catholic missionary initiative also left the road open for Protestant missionaries, both foreign and Latin American. In the spiritual vacuum of new urban areas, in the countryside, and in new middle-class enclaves, Protestantism spread like wildfire. Pentecostalism, especially, thrived because it met emotional and religious needs while posing few leadership barriers to those who took it seriously. Being a pastor required no more than a few converts ready to follow one's lead. The irony, of course, was that the individualistic consumer mentality fostered by Protestantism was exactly what Illich was trying to keep out of Latin America.

On the missionary side of the encounter, there is also more than meets the eye. Only the most hardened and resolute missionaries can avoid questioning *their own* culture on the mission field. Confronted by other belief systems, by new cultural values, by environments unlike their homes, missionaries can hardly escape sustained evaluation of their own cultural assumptions and even of their most deeply held religious beliefs. Separated from all that is familiar, they must decide what is true and good all over again. Some, of course, decide that home values are true values in every case, but that kind of monolithic ethnocentrism is rare. In most cases missionaries become critical of their own culture, with the Apostle Paul being the classic example.

The paradigmatic modern example for Catholic missionaries is the case of Vincent Donovan. After working with the Masai people of east Africa for a year, in 1966 Donovan came to the realization that the schools, hospitals, and other social services that he and his fellow Holy

Ghost Fathers provided for the Masai were ineffective as evangelistic tools. He was busy "selling" school and providing medical care, but he was not even mentioning religion to the many Masai that he met. Longing for a more "missionary" missionary experience, he made a novel request to his superior: "I would propose cutting myself off from the schools and hospitals . . . and just go and talk to them about God and the Christian message." He did eventually experience much more missionary "success" as he dropped the institutional accoutrements of the modern West, but he first had to reevaluate everything that he thought he knew about Christianity. His original expression of the faith was "so revised, adapted, distilled, and filtered" that it was "hardly recognizable" at the end. He became critical of American culture and committed to radical questioning: "Never accept and be content with unanalyzed assumptions, assumptions about the work, about the people, about the church or Christianity. Never be afraid to ask questions about the work we have inherited or the work we are doing. There is no question that should not be asked or that is outlawed." The title of his book, *Christianity Rediscovered*, implies, of course that in this process of questioning he found not a new method of evangelism but rather the true meaning of Christianity itself, for the Masai, yes, but even more importantly for himself.[14] Donovan demonstrates that the mission field generates—for the most perceptive missionaries, it seems—the crisis of faith necessary for a translation of the Gospel that tears from it exactly those institutional appendages that Illich himself rejected.

The great Protestant example is Lesslie Newbigin, for 40 years a Scottish Presbyterian missionary in India. From the mission field and upon his return to Britain in 1974, Newbigin wrote critically not of India but of the West. In thirteen of his twenty books Newbigin analyzed Western culture just as missiologists from the West did for other cultures. He concluded that, far from being the embodiment of Christianity that both Christian apologists and their secular critics imagined Western culture to be, it was a culture "more than almost any other . . . resistant to the gospel." The Enlightenment, Newbigin argued, had introduced into the heart of the West a "strange fissure" between fact

and value and between public and private life. The enlightened "abandonment of teleology as the key to the understanding of nature" led to incredible advances in the natural sciences (which resulted in industrialization, urbanization, and other modern transformations) but left humanity unable to make the jump from "is" (supposedly objectively determined facts) to "ought" (values and the good). The modern worldview ultimately isolated the world of values (now seen as no more than personal preferences) from the public world of scientifically derived facts. Nothing, Newbigin argued, could be further from Christian belief in an omniscient creator who ordered all things and all people for his own purposes. The task of the Church in the West was therefore to confront this non-Christian worldview with the person and claims of Christ, firmly but gently challenging the irrational claims of the "rationalists." Newbigin insisted that his insights into the West came from his experience of the "cultural frontier," an experience that allowed him to see what other Protestant thinkers such as Richard Niebuhr and Paul Tillich simply could not, locked as they were into the "plausibility structures" of the West.[15] Again, the mission field produced a critic, not a defender, of the West; again, the mission field produced a Christian who felt compelled to probe the terrible nature of modernity; again, the mission field produced a fresh understanding of the gospel for the missionary himself.

Illich, as readers are probably starting to realize, is a prime example of a missionary critical of his own culture. Who believes that he would have developed his deep and biting critique of Western modernity if he had lived out his life as a Vatican bureaucrat? No, he became the dedicated critic of the West, perhaps the most trenchant theological critic of the West in the late twentieth century, in Puerto Rico and Mexico. It took dislocation and submersion in a new culture for him to see clearly the problems of the modern West. Without his appreciation of Puerto Rican folk Catholicism, of village life, of peasant culture, of life lived outside of industrial society, there would have been no attack on missions, no *Deschooling Society*, no *Medical Nemesis*.

His attack on missions, however, denied this same experience to many Americans. Who knows what would have happened if the

priests, sisters, and lay missioners discouraged by Illich had poured into Latin America? Many, perhaps most, would have operated just as Illich feared, institutionalizing, depersonalizing, and destroying the true beauties of folk Catholicism. Is it not possible, though, that some of them would have seen what Illich saw? Even the trickle of missionaries who did serve in Latin America has provided its share of critics of American culture, politics, and religion.[16] Imagine if there were a thousand more such people active in American life today.

An added irony of Illich's story is that he could find "not even a first conversational partner within any of the established churches" to discuss his great intellectual accomplishment, his historical-sociological-theological hypothesis about Western modernity. In the 1990s, at least, this was not for lack of trying. After two addresses to Lutheran groups, he lamented, "In neither place did I get the impression that one person understood what I was speaking about."[17] The largely non-religious friends and colleagues with whom he collaborated in Germany lacked the theological background to engage the religious side of his argument, while most Christian intellectuals either could not escape the shackles of the modernity itself or lacked the cultural and historical resources to appreciate its profundity. Only on the mission field could he have found his peers.

Illich in Context

Illich's failure to appreciate the specific issue of the nature of the mission field or to grapple with its role in his own thought does not diminish the importance and continuing relevance of the more general ideas that he developed in Puerto Rico and Mexico. First, Illich's fear of the American missionary project was the spark that led to his fruitful investigations of education, medicine, transportation, and other fields. Without the provocation of American missionaries destroying Latin American Catholicism, Illich never might have noticed the more subtle contradictions in other fields. In other words, even if he made significant mistakes in his analysis of mission, the passion he developed

about that issue propelled him into a much deeper study of Western institutions than he otherwise would have undertaken. Second, Illich's writings have as much to offer today as they did during the 1960s and 1970s. A world increasingly characterized by the loss of the human and the personal, whether through ubiquitous "communication" technologies that replace genuine human friendships or through the general coarsening of public discourse, is crying out for some way to make sense of the paradoxes that make today's world so dissatisfying. The ongoing value of Illich's thought is in the area of institutional critique. Illich was a social critic or prophet who denounced the problems of the day without providing specific directions for reform. Those who look to Illich for concrete solutions are destined to be disappointed, but those willing to appropriate his insights into the deep fissures in Western modernity may be richly rewarded. Identifying the damaged parts of an old foundation is only part of the process of rebuilding an old house, but it clears the way for those ready to take on the more active part of the procedure.

In the area of education Illich's critique of institutionalization has much to offer. Although almost all American children attend school until the age of sixteen and most graduate from high school, it is clear to any college professor that a high school diploma often certifies no more than an ability to sit at a desk for six hours a day. As Illich predicted, Americans and other Westerners have become pathological about degrees and certification in the most mundane subjects. At my own university, future police officers, firefighters, and prison guards pay large amounts of money to spend four years preparing for jobs that do not require college degrees. A colleague who circulated a mock proposal for a new program was only mildly surprised when the faculty took seriously his idea of developing a new major in "postal studies" for future letter carriers. The notion that "construction management" and "recreation" are fields requiring academic preparation goes unchallenged, while thousands of young people go into debt to take classes in which they have no interest and from which they gain no benefit.

In the area of medicine Illich's criticisms have proved even more prophetic. Ever-growing bureaucracies "manage" the health of millions,

ration access to astronomically expensive "procedures," and leave little room for the personal and the human. Illich's nightmare of the reconceptualization of the body as a "system" has become so accepted that the analogical nature of the term is no longer even recognized. Also as he feared, the art of suffering has seemingly vanished from the world. Where once the great religious and philosophical traditions aided the sick and the dying in making sense of their pain and preparing for death, the medicalization of life has proceeded to such a degree that antidepressants and painkillers preclude even the asking of questions. The anesthetic cocoon has triumphed; pain and death have become merely practical issues rather than existential challenges demanding all the resources of human culture. The conquest of pain has led not to true human liberation but to a truncation of the human spirit.

Finally, the bureaucratization of the churches has continued unabated, to the extent that even the most obscure denominations feel the need for the widest possible panoply of committees, boards, offices, programs, and, of course, academically credentialed leaders to fill as many positions as possible. In Illich's own Catholic Church the call of Vatican II for the liberation of laity led not, as *Lumen Gentium* and *Apostolicam Actuositatem* had envisioned, to dynamic lay missionaries serving as "leaven" and "light" in the world outside of the church, but to lay people assuming all sorts of new official roles *inside* of the church. Thus, the explosion of "pastoral associates," lectors, "extraordinary ministers of communion," and other varieties of lay "ministers," when coupled with the virtual abandonment of catechesis in the 1970s and 1980s and the corresponding loss of dynamic Catholic identity, led to a clericalization of the laity and to a disengagement from culture (except in the guise of "agencies" and organizations). Many lay Catholics who wanted to take their faith seriously could conceive of no way of being active and engaged believers except as officeholders in a bureaucratic organization. Of course, this was exactly the opposite of what Illich and the council had called for.

Not surprisingly, the institutional churches had little to recommend them to the culture around them. They certainly did not have a reputation for love, or self-sacrifice, or conviviality, or even truth. There

were other factors at work, but surely the increasingly bureaucratic nature of the churches had much to do with their inability to distinguish themselves from the other institutions that dominated Western society. With the radicalness of the Gospel obscured by committees and administrators, those in search of authentic religious experience often looked elsewhere.

Illich's message both in his written words and in the example of his life and actions could serve as a powerful corrective to the hedonistic, superficial, and disengaged culture that dominates the developed world today—and his message could bridge the chasm between left and right. At the very least, at a time when liberals and conservatives appear to share nothing but visceral disrespect for one another, the ideas Illich developed in Cuernavaca deserve renewed consideration, not the least for their combination of traditionalism and radicalism. First, the conversation could start with his proposal in *Deschooling Society* for a "disestablishment" of schooling, by which he meant an end not to schools but to their radical monopoly over learning and training. Does not the stultifying effect that mandatory, publicly financed K-12 education has on many Westerners at least raise the question of the value of such an extreme investment in time and money and such a complete state-imposed domination of people's lives? Shifting the debate from how to fix an ailing system to whether there should be such a system in the first place could force a rethinking of the whole institution.

Another controversial and central aspect of the modern West, health care, would benefit greatly from Illich's critique in *Medical Nemesis*:

> When I suffer pain, I am aware that a question is being raised . . . Such a query is as integral to physical pain as the loneliness. Pain is the sign for something not answered; it refers to something open, something that goes on the next moment to demand, What is wrong? How much longer? Why must I/ought I/should I/can I/suffer? Why does this kind of evil exist, and why does it strike me? Observers who are blind to this referential aspect of pain are left with nothing but conditioned reflexes. They are studying a guinea pig, not a human being.[18]

A medical system that ignores the personal nature of pain is in effect ignoring the human person and transforming health care into an impersonal management process that is dehumanizing and dangerous. Furthermore, argues Illich, this medical approach to pain removes it from the "cultural framework" that allows people to make sense of it. Finally, this depersonalization of pain and its isolation from human culture prevents the development of the art of suffering, a skill integral to human cultures throughout history. The medicalization of pain "has rendered either incomprehensible or shocking the idea that skill in the art of suffering might be the most effective and universally acceptable way of dealing with pain."[19] As with education, Illich's critique of the institutionalization of medicine points beyond the sterile debates about reimbursement rates and "delivery systems" to the human beings who should be the center of health care reform. No proposal for the health care crisis can be a true solution if it fosters further dehumanization; consequently no proposal that ignores the questions raised by pain or the cultural practices that have fostered the art of suffering should be accepted by any participants in the debate.

Despite his uncharacteristic inattention to the nature of the missionary experience, it is evident that from his vantage points in Puerto Rico and Mexico Ivan Illich could see the crisis of Western modernity with exceptional clarity. While countless social critics have pointed to symptoms of malaise and decay, Illich was one of the few who addressed the deeper questions; his proposal that the corruption of Christianity has infected all of the West at the very least deserves to be taken seriously and may in fact be the key to understanding the nature of Western modernity itself, as one of today's foremost philosophers proposes.[20]

At the same time—and contrary to those critics who blamed him for pointing to problems but never providing any solutions—in CIDOC Illich also built up a "convivial" institution that served as a clear alternative to bureaucratic institutionalization. No greater testimony to the veracity of Illich's ideas exists than the tension and frustration many visitors experienced when they encountered the unstructured freedom of CIDOC. Used to being coddled in the "school-womb," they reacted angrily to the seeming indifference of Illich and his team or waited

passively for someone to tell them what to do, even as CIDOC provided them with a beautiful setting and a world-class faculty ready to teach them about hundreds of different topics. CIDOC, perhaps even more than Illich's writings, proved how sick the West had become. Many of Europe and North America's most privileged students and intellectuals simply had lost the ability to operate outside of a context of institutional dependence. At the same time, the many Westerners who found in CIDOC a congenial atmosphere for study and debate and returned to it year after year showed that the desire for learning in an atmosphere of human freedom had not entirely evaporated.

A scholar who left the Catholic University of Ponce and never again had a permanent university position, a priest who gave up his public ministry, Illich repeatedly imperiled his future advancement for the sake of truth as he saw it. Many disagreed with his specific ideas and with his sabotage of the Catholic missionary initiative in Latin America, but few could dispute that he risked everything he had to present his message to the world. That is what a prophet does.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Ivan Illich, "Yankee, Go Home: The American Do-Gooder in Latin America," in Ivan Illich, *The Church, Change, and Development* (Chicago: Urban Training Center Press, 1970), 45–53. The speech is also known as "The Cuernavaca Speech" and "To Hell with Good Intentions" and is available with comments from an audience member at Ivan Illich, "Ivan Illich Speech in Chicago to CIASP 1968," April 20, 1968, http://www.ciasp.ca/CIASPhistory/IllichCIASPspeech.htm.
2. Francine du Plessix Gray, *Divine Disobedience: Profiles in Catholic Radicalism* (New York: Knopf, 1970), 280; Harvey Cox, "A prophet, a teacher, a realistic dreamer," *National Catholic Reporter* (December 20, 2002).
3. *Celebration of Awareness: A Call for Institutional Revolution* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970); *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971); *Tools for Conviviality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973); *Energy and Equity* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); *Medical Nemesis* (New York: Pantheon, 1976).
4. Joseph Fitzpatrick to William Ferree, January 30, 1956, Papers of Fr. Joseph Fitzpatrick, SJ, Archives and Special Collections, Fordham University Library (hereafter cited as FUL), Box 25, File 12.
5. Alejandro Iñigo, "Todo ha concluido: Illich, CIDOC, centro de controversias," *Excélsior*, January 25, 1969, in Tarsicio Ocampo V, *México: "Entredicho" del Vaticano a CIDOC, 1966–69; Documentos y Reacciones de Prensa* (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969), 3064.
6. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 275.

7. Ivan Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, edited by David Cayley (Concord, Ont.: Anansi, 1992), 76, 79, 80, 150; Ivan Illich, *The Rivers North of the Future: The Testament of Ivan Illich* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2005), 1; Ivan Illich, *The Evolving Church* (Chicago, Meditapes cassette, 1973; taped in 1971); "Ivan Illich," *Telegraph* (UK), December 5, 2002; Gray, 242. Vitalism is the belief that life cannot be explained by physics alone. Klages espoused a "biocentric metaphysics" and made contributions to the study of graphology (handwriting analysis). Steiner tried to develop a science of the spirit.
8. Ivan Illich, interview by Douglas Lummis, in "Illich: Conversations," Lee Hoinacki, editor, 1990, FUL 25:12; Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 75.
9. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 85; Ivan Illich, "The Vanishing Clergyman," in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 88; Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 251.
10. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 81, 85, 150; Illich, *Rivers North*, 141–142; "Ivan Illich," *Telegraph* (UK), December 5, 2002. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1415202/Ivan-Illich.html. Maritain, who was the French ambassador to the Vatican, 1945–48, hosted wide-ranging discussions of Thomism and related topics in his home.
11. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 84; Sherman Goldman, "Ivan Illich: Learning is Unlearning," *East West Journal* (April 1976), 33–35; Robert Meredith, "Ivan Illich and the Cultural Revolution," *Soundings* LV, no. 2 (Summer 1972), 139–162; Lee Hoinacki, "Ivan Illich, 1926–2002," *The Catholic Worker* (June–July 2003).
12. Thomas O'Dea, *The American Catholic Dilemma: An Inquiry into the Intellectual Life* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958), 40, 124. See also John Tracy Ellis, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life," *Thought* 30 (Autumn 1955), 351–388.
13. Dorothy Day, *From Union Square to Rome* (Silver Spring, Md.: Preservation of the Faith Press, 1938); Thomas Merton, *The Seven Storey Mountain* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1948).
14. Jacques Maritain, *Integral Humanism: Temporal and Spiritual Problems of a New Christendom* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1973 [original French edition 1936]), 265.

15. Philip Gleason, *Keeping the Faith: American Catholicism, Past and Present* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), 186.
16. Anne Fremantle, "Credit *The Commonweal*," in *The Commonweal Reader*, ed. Edward Skillin (New York: Harper & Bros, 1949), 8–9. The journal later dropped the initial article and became simply *Commonweal*.
17. Jay Dolan, *In Search of American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 148–150; Gleason, *Keeping the Faith*, 71–73.
18. Kathleen Carlton Johnson, "Radical Social Activism, Lay Catholic Women and American Feminism," (PhD diss., University of South Africa, 2006), 100.
19. Stephane Groueff, *My Odyssey* (iUniverse, 2003), 316; Kathleen Carlton Johnson, "Marion Mitchell Stancioff," *Catholic History.net*, 2009, http://www.catholichistory.net/People/MarionMitchellStancioff.htm.
20. Edward Cleary, *Crisis and Change: The Church in Latin America Today* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1985), 22–34.
21. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1973).
22. Camilo Torres and John Gerassi, *Revolutionary Priest: The Complete Writings & Messages of Camilo Torres* (New York: Random House, 1971).
23. Joseph Fitzpatrick, "Ivan Illich as We Knew Him in the 1950s," in Lee Hoinacki and Carl Mitcham, eds., *The Challenges of Ivan Illich* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), 41.

CHAPTER 01

1. John J. Considine, *Call for Forty Thousand* (New York: Longmans, 1946), 304.
2. William J. Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism: A Self-Evaluation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Maryknoll Publications, 1958), 20–22.
3. *Tercera Semana Interamericana de Acción Católica: Documentos* (Chimbote, Peru, 1953), 240–241, as quoted in Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism*, 33. Considine and other Maryknoll Fathers responded to these issues with their own conference in Peru about their mission work in Latin America: Angelyn Dries, "The Legacy of John

J. Considine, M.M.," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 21, no. 2 (April 1997), 82.

4. Pius XII, *Ad Ecclesiam Christi*, June 29, 1955 (available in Spanish at Biblioteca Electrónica Cristiana, http://multimedios.org/docs/d000022/); Gerald Costello, *Mission to Latin America: The Successes and Failures of a Twentieth Century Crusade* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1979), 41–42.
5. Paul Hoffman, "Task in Americas Stressed by Pope," *New York Times*, November 26, 1958.
6. "Church Seeks Latins: Catholic Bishops of Canada, U.S., South America Meet," *New York Times*, November 5, 1959; George Dugan, "Catholics Set Aim in Latin America," *New York Times*, September 14, 1960; James Garneau, "The First Inter-American Episcopal Conference, November 2–4, 1959: Canada and the United States called to the Rescue of Latin America," *Catholic Historical Review* 87, issue 4 (October 2001), 662–688.
7. Agostino Casaroli, "Appeal of the Pontifical Commission to North American Superiors," August 17, 1961, in Costello, *Mission*, 273–282.
8. "Secret pleasure of seeing my set of notes of couple of months ago become a reality in the name of the Holy See." John J. Considine, Diary, August 17, 1961, Maryknoll Mission Archives, Ossining, New York (hereafter referred to as MMA); Costello, *Mission*, 47.
9. George Dugan, "Catholics Set Aim in Latin America," *New York Times*, September 14, 1960. Costello asserts that the ten percent call implicitly extended to diocesan priests: Costello, *Mission*, 73.
10. "Rome Sets Five-year Aid Program for the Church in Latin America," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 4 (September 1962), 26; Hellmut Gnadt Vitalis, *The Significance of Changes in Latin American Catholicism since Chimbote 1953*, CIDOC Sondeos No. 51 (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969), 12–14.
11. John Considine, *The Church in the New Latin America* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides, 1964), 99–100.
12. "Pope Asks for More Priests for Latin American Lands," *New York Times*, February 28, 1964.
13. John Considine to Vincent Mallon, November 24, 1969, MMA.
14. Ivan Illich to John Considine, December 29, 1960, Latin America Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference collection,

Catholic University of America (hereafter CUA) box 186, file 53 (hereafter box number followed by file number). See also Todd Hartch, *Missionaries of the State: The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Indigenous Mexico, and State Formation, 1935–1985* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006).

15. John J. Considine, Diary, September 8 and September 20, 1960, MMA.
16. Joaquín Sáenz Arriaga, *Cuernavaca y el Progresismo Religioso en México* (México, 1967), 134.
17. Ivan Illich, as quoted in Sherman Goldman, "Ivan Illich: Learning Is Unlearning," *East West Journal* (April 1976), 34; John Duggan, "Growing Up with Ivan Illich," www.pudel.uni-bremen.de; Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 84.
18. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation,* 84.
19. Peter Canon [Ivan Illich], "The American Parish," *Integrity* 9, no. 9 (June 1955), 7; Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 241–244; Ivan Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, edited by David Cayle (Concord, Ont.: Anansi, 1992), 98.
20. Francine du Plessix Gray, *Divine Disobedience: Profiles in Catholic Radicalism* (New York: Knopf, 1970), 241–244; Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 98.
21. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 87. Obeying his pastor at Incarnation Parish, Illich went by the name "John" during this period, but switched back to "Ivan" when he moved to Puerto Rico: Joseph Fitzpatrick, *The Stranger is Our Own: Reflections on the Journey of Puerto Rican Migrants* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1996), 17.
22. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 247, 248; "Spanish American Mass," *New York Times*, June 24, 1953; Costello, *Mission*, 105; John Cooney, *The American Pope: The Life and Times of Francis Cardinal Spellman* (New York: Times Books, 1984), 322.
23. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 86.
24. Ivan Illich, "Not Foreigners, Yet Foreign," in Ivan Illich, *Celebration of Awareness: A Call for Institutional Revolution* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 29, originally published in *Commonweal*, 1956.
25. Illich, "Not Foreigners," 40.
26. Ivan Illich, "The Eloquence of Silence," in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 41.
27. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 87.
28. Illich, "Eloquence," 42–43.

29. Ivan Illich, "Missionary Poverty," in Ivan Illich, *Church, Change, and Development*, (Chicago: Urban Training Center Press, 1970), 113–117. Originally delivered as an address to students in Ponce, Puerto Rico, in 1956.
30. Illich, "Missionary Poverty," 118–119. Although this is clearly a much more positive view of the missionary vocation than Illich later would present, the seeds of his more negative view are present in the extreme difficulty Illich sees in the process of becoming a missionary. In later years, he concluded that very few Americans were able to carry the process to completion.
31. Illich, "Eloquence," 47–49.
32. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 248–249.
33. John J. Considine, Diary, August 11 to 23, 1960, MMA.
34. Joseph Fitzpatrick to William Ferree, January 30, 1956, CUA 25: 12.
35. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 243–247; Peter Canon [Ivan Illich], "Can a Catholic Get a Divorce," *Integrity* 9, no. 7 (April 1955), 7–10; Peter Canon [Ivan Illich], "The American Parish," *Integrity* 9, no. 9 (June 1955), 5–15.
36. Ivan Illich, as quoted in James Hamilton-Paterson, "How does the human race," *Nova*, March 1975, 36–39.
37. Joseph Fitzpatrick, "American Catholics and Latin America," *CIF Reports* 6, no. 7 (April 1, 1967), 2, 4; Illich, "Not Foreigners," 34.
38. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 150, 164. "Shutz" is probably Alfred Schutz, an Austrian philosopher of the social sciences. Illich later wrote a book on medieval theologian Hugh of St. Victor: *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
39. John J. Considine, Diary, September 23, 1960, MMA.
40. Ivan Illich to John J. Considine, September 24, 1960, CUA, 186:53.
41. John J. Considine, Diary, October 5, 1960, MMA; Ivan Illich to John J. Considine, October 8, 1960, CUA 186:53.
42. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 88; "Fuss in Puerto Rico," *Time*, October 31, 1960; Luís Suárez, "Consternado por la decision del papa contra el CIDOC," February 5, 1969, in Tarsicio Ocampo V, *México: "Entredicho" del Vaticano a CIDOC, 1966–69; Documentos y Reacciones de Prensa* (Cuernavaca, Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969), 3183.

43. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 250.
44. James McManus, quoted in Luis Vega y Monroy, "Cuernavaca y el periodismo," *El Sol de México* (April 15, 1968), reprinted in Baltazar López, ed., *Cuernavaca: Fuentes para el Estudio de una Diocesis*, vol. 2, CIDOC Dossier, no. 31 (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1968), 384–385.
45. James McManus to John [Ivan] Illich, October 16, 1960, FUL 25: 12; Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 251.
46. James McManus, quoted in López, ed., *Cuernavaca*, 385.
47. John J. Considine to Ivan Illich, September 30, 1960, CUA 186: 53.
48. Ivan Illich to John J. Considine, November 16, 1960, CUA 186: 53.
49. John J. Considine, Diary, November 25, November 30, and December 1, 1960, MMA; John J. Considine to Ivan Illich, December 6, 1960, CUA 186: 53.
50. Ivan Illich, "Author's Note," *Church, Change, and Development*, 13.
51. Illich, "The Cultivation of Conspiracy," in *The Challenges of Ivan Illich*, eds. Lee Hoinacki and Carl Mitcham (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), 237. Reimer is mentioned in Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), vii, and Rosario is mentioned in Illich, "Cultivation," 235. Other members of this group might have been Lee Hoinacki, who met Illich at Ponce in 1960 and then followed him to Cuernavaca, and Gerry Morris, who served in Puerto Rico from 1938 to 1957 and then served as Illich's factotum in Cuernavaca: Lee Hoinacki, "Why Philia?," http://www.pudel.uni-bremen.de/pdf/Hoinacki_Clar04_Philia_philia_en.pdf; Ivan Ilich to James M. Darby, January 14, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1016.
52. Illich, "Cultivation," 235; Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 98.
53. Ivan Illich, "The Institutional Construction of a New Fetish: Human Life," in Ivan Illich, *In the Mirror of the Past: Lectures and Addresses, 1978–1990* (London: Marion Boyars, 1992), 221–222.
54. For Illich's concept of *corruptio optimi quae est pessima* ("The corruption of the best is the worst," meaning especially that the corruption of the Church spreads to other institutions), see Lee Hoinacki, "Reading Ivan Illich," in *The Challenges of Ivan Illich*, 1–8.
55. Wayne Cowan, "An Interview with Ivan Illich," *Christianity and Crisis* (August 4, 1969), 213.

56. As explained in an introductory note to "The Vanishing Clergyman," in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness* 69.
57. Illich, "Vanishing Clergyman," 71.
58. Ivan Illich, Preface, in Benjamín Ortega, ed., *Repertorio para el Estudio de las Iglesias en la Sociedad de América Latina* (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentatción, 1970), 1–2. CIDOC collected and housed thousands of documents related to Latin American popular religion.
59. Illich, "Not Foreigners," 39; Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," in *Church, Change, and Development*, 101.
60. Canon [Ivan Illich], "The American Parish," 7.
61. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 88. He refers to Puerto Ricans as "our people" in Ivan Illich, "Discurso de Graduación," in *Ensayos sobre la Trascendencia*, CIDOC Sondeos, no. 77 (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1971), 2/5 (originally given as a speech in 1959).
62. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 87; Ivan Illich to Joseph Fitzpatrick, November 29, 1959, FUL 25:12; Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 251; "Controversial Priest: Ivan Illich," *New York Times,* January 23, 1969; Ivan Illich, foreword, in Carlo Carretto, *Letters from the Desert* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1972), vii–xi; Paul Lewis, "A Pilgrimage to a Mystic's Hermitage in Algeria," *New York Times*, July 12, 1981.
63. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 87; Illich to Fitzpatrick, November 29, 1959, FUL 25:12; Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 251; "Controversial Priest: Ivan Illich," *New York Times,* January 23, 1969; Illich, foreword, in Carretto, *Letters from the Desert*, vii–xi.
64. As noted in the introduction to "The Vanishing Clergyman," Illich penned these words in 1959 but did not publish them until 1967: Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 69.
65. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 93–94.
66. Ivan Illich, as quoted in Goldman, "Ivan Illich: Learning Is Unlearning," 34. It is possible that Illich exaggerated—implied in his correspondence with Considine was affection both for the man and for the missionary project. To accept the legitimacy of the words above is to accept Illich's conscious duplicity. But these words are not an aberration: see a virtually identical statement of the aims of the Cuernavaca center in the introduction to "The Seamy Side of Charity" in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 53.

67. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 76, 88. Considine apparently had shared his "ten percent plan" with Illich, for in Illich's report on the first CIF session, which started two months *before* the Notre Dame conference officially announced the plan, he said the CIF was formed "Anticipating the call of the Holy See for 'outside' personnel to assist the Church in Latin America": Ivan Illich, Report, September 22, 1961, CUA, LAB 186: 63. Illich latter referred to the plan as "that *ghastly* letter which a Maryknoll priest called John Considine wrote and convinced Pope John XXIII to sign": *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 93.
68. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 251. When Gray asked him directly what he had learned on the pilgrimage, he replied, "I learned the meaning of distance." John Hebert, "The Illich Solution," *The Guardian*, September 28, 1974; Hamilton-Paterson, "How does the human race," 36–39. Other observers saw the distribution of powdered milk and other foods by Catholic Relief Services (sponsored by the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States) as successful in revitalizing rural South America: Gary MacEoin, *Latin America: The Eleventh Hour* (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1962), 186–188.
69. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 53, 60.
70. Ivan Illich, "Violence: A Mirror for Americans," in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 24.
71. "Meeting on Tuesday" [CIF Staff Meeting], June 11, 1963, FUL 24:5.

CHAPTER 02

1. Ivan Illich, "Report submitted to the Board: The CIF Session, June 19th to October 9th, 1961, in Cuernavaca, Mexico," September 22, 1961, FUL 24:31.
2. Peter Lund, *Ivan Illich and his Antics* (North Huddersfield: SLD Publications, 1976), 1.
3. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 252–253; Ivan Illich to Sergio Méndez Arceo, June 26, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 2003.
4. "Mexico Travel—Taxco and Cuernavaca," 1939, Old and Sold Antiques Auction and Marketplace, http://www.oldandsold.com/articles02/mexico_travel30.shtml; Sydney Clark, *Mexico: Magnetic Southland* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1944), 205. In 2009 the hotel was operating as an evangelical retreat center.

5. Ivan Illich, "The Seamy Side of Charity,", 54; Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 204; Alain Gheerbrant, *The Rebel Church in Latin America* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin, 1974), 332.
6. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 54; Illich, "Violence: A Mirror for Americans," in *Celebration*, 22, 26; Illich, *Rivers North*, 200.
7. Wayne Cowan, "An Interview with Ivan Illich," *Christianity and Crisis* (August 4, 1969), 213; "Minutes of a meeting held on February 4, 1961, in the Council Room at Fordham University," FUL 24:2; William Mulcahy to CIF Executive Committee, May 11, 1964, FUL 24:2; Fordham University, Department of Public Relations, "Ivan D. Illich: Association with Fordham University," January 24, 1969, FUL 24:8. In Illich's defense, the official incorporation document of the CIF did phrase the center's purposes in secular terms: "Certificate of Incorporation of Center of Intercultural Formation, Inc., pursuant to the Membership Corporations Law," March 3, 1961, FUL 24:1.
8. Ivan Illich, as quoted in Goldman, "Ivan Illich: Learning Is Unlearning," 34. Throughout the 1960s Illich served as a researcher affiliated with Fordham's department of political science: Luis Suárez, "Consternado por la decisión del papa contra el CIDOC," *Siempre*, February 5, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3183.
9. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 95.
10. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 54.
11. John J. Considine, Diary, October 8, 1961, MMA. Illich used the first name "John" during his years in the United States at the request of his pastor, Monsignor Casey, at his Washington Heights, New York, church: Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 241.
12. Ivan Illich to John J. Considine, January 9, 1961, CUA 186:53; Ivan Illich to John J. Considine, January 1961, CUA 186:53.
13. John J. Considine, memo, January 25, 1961, CUA 186:53.
14. Ivan Illich to John J. Considine, January 27, 1961, CUA 186:53.
15. John J. Considine, Diary, February 4–March 1 and March 18–20, 1961, MMA; National Catholic Welfare Conference Administrative Board Meeting, Minutes, March 1, 1961, CUA 186:51.
16. John J. Considine, Diary, March 6, 1961, MMA. Perhaps some of Illich's reluctance to fundraise came from his belief that the center could be "self-supporting deriving its income from tuition": Ivan Illich to John J. Considine, September 24, 1960, CUA 186:53.

17. John J. Considine, Diary, March 21–23, 1961, MMA; Costello, *Mission*, 108.
18. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 54.
19. "Students according to their superiors," [list of attendees at first CIF session, 1961] CUA 186:63.
20. Costello, *Mission*, 62.
21. Ivan Illich, Report, September 22, 1961, CUA 186:63; "Boot Camp for Urbanites," *Time*, October 27, 1961; CIDOC, *Catalogue*, [September 1974], no. 20.
22. Ivan Illich to Laurence McGinley, July 28, 1961, CUA 186:52.
23. Held Griffin, as quoted in Costello, *Mission*, 93. Griffin attended CIF's sister institution in Petropolis, Brazil, which trained those missionaries going to Brazil in the Portuguese language.
24. "Midterm report from guidance committee and language department [of Center of Intercultural Formation]," August 13, 1961, CUA 186:58.
25. Ivan Illich, "The Eloquence of Silence," in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 42–43.
26. Ivan Illich, "Report submitted to the Board: The CIF Session, June 19th to October 9th, 1961, in Cuernavaca, Mexico," September 22, 1961, FUL 24:31; Ivan Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," in Ivan Illich, *The Church, Change, and Development* (Chicago, Urban Training Center Press, 1970), 85–111.
27. Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," 87, 90; Ivan Illich, "Principles of Mission Education," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 7 (December 1963), 30–32.
28. Ivan Illich, Report, September 22, 1961, CUA 186:63; Joseph Fitzpatrick to Norbert Lemke, April 22, 1963, FUL 24:5.
29. Donald Hessler to John J. Considine, August 9, 1961, CUA 191:18.
30. John Stitz to John J. Considine, December 12, 1961, CUA 186:54.
31. John J. Considine, Diary, October 7, 1961, MMA; John J. Considine to Laurence McGinley, October 11, 1961, CUA 186:51. Cushing founded the St. James Society, which sent priests to Latin America, and Carboni used his organizational and networking skills to make Peru the most popular destination for U.S. missionaries. Illich refused to meet Cushing to discuss his concerns because "Cushing is a man with whom one can deal only from great poverty or great strength": Ivan Illich to John Considine, September 30, 1961, CUA 186:52.

32. Philip Toynbee, "Pilgrimage to a Modern Prophet," *Observer Magazine*, February 24, 1974, 29. By 1974 he had come to the conclusion that this form of manipulation was not in fact legitimate. Ivan Illich, "Discurso de graduación, Colegio de Agricultura y Artes Mecánicas," in Ivan Illich, *Ensayos Sobre La Trascendencia*, Sondeos; no. 77; (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1971), 2–4.
33. Costello, *Mission*, 65; Wayne Cowan, "An Interview with Ivan Illich," *Christianity and Crisis* (August 4, 1969), 214; Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," 91, 93; "Boot Camp for Urbanites," *Time*, October 27, 1961; Peter Schrag, "Ivan Illich: The Christian as Rebel," *Saturday Review* (July 19, 1969), 16; "Chicago Parish Planned as Experiment," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 6 (November 1962), 32; Ivan Illich, "Principles of Mission Education," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 7 (December 1963), 31; Francisco Aguilera to Apostolic Delegate, August 20, 1966, in Ocampo, *México*, 1001.
34. Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," 91, 93; "Boot Camp for Urbanites," *Time*, October 27, 1961.
35. Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," 88. "Boot Camp for Urbanites," *Time*, October 27, 1961. Assuming that both men were trying to be theologically orthodox, explanations of their statements could be that del Corro was pushing the students to reject an Americanized God and that Illich was trying to expose the hardheartedness of those who said they loved God-in-Pedro but not Pedro himself. In a letter to *Time* Illich denied that he had spoken out against bishops and suggested that his other comments were taken out of context: Ivan Illich, letter to the editor, *Time*, November 24, 1961.
36. "Dialogue Among Directors: Workshop for Directors of Training Formation Centers in Latin America," *CIF Reports* 3, no. 4 (July 1964), 11.
37. Joseph Fitzpatrick to Norbert Lemke, April 22, 1963, FUL 24:5.
38. Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," 95.
39. Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," 99–100; Illich, "Principles of Mission Education," 31. See also CIF training director Wilbert Wagner's presentation to other training centers' personnel:Wilbert Wagner, "Missionary Counseling," *CIF Reports* 3, no. 4 (July 1964), 1–7.
40. "Dialogue Among Directors: Workshop for Directors of Training Formation Centers in Latin America," *CIF Reports* 3, no. 4 (July 1964), 12.

41. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 94.
42. Marguerite Dussault to Joseph Fitzpatrick, April 1, 1963, FUL 24:5.
43. Costello, *Mission*, 90.
44. Ivan Illich, "Dear Father Kevane," in Illich, *The Church, Change, and Development*, 38–41. Illich initially did not totally reject PAVLA, for in 1960 he asked Considine if PAVLA could provide him with a cook, a maintenance man, and an accountant for Cuernavaca: Ivan Illich to John J. Considine, January 4, 1961, CUA 186:53; CIF trained 68 of the first 177 volunteers: "Papal Volunteers for Latin America," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 10 (March 1963), 44.
45. Ivan Illich to Michael Lies, October 14, 1961, CUA 186:52; Ivan Illich to Michael Lies, November 13, 1961, CUA 186:52.
46. "Mid-term report from guidance committee and language department [of Center of Intercultural Communication], August 13, 1961, CUA 186:58.
47. Ivan Illich, Report, September 22, 1961, CUA 186:63.
48. Ivan Illich to John Considine, August 15, 1961, CUA 186:52.
49. John J. Considine, Diary, September 22, 1961, MMA.
50. Illich, "Dear Father Kevane," 34; John Considine to William Mulcahy, September 15, 1965, FUL 25:1.
51. Ivan Illich, "Dear Mary: Letter to an American Volunteer," in Illich, *The Church, Change, and Development*, 42–44.
52. Ivan Illich to Edward Hunkeler, August 1, 1961, CUA 186:52; Ivan Illich to Board of Directors, August 1, 1961, CUA 186:52.
53. John Stitz to John Considine, December 12, 1961, CUA 186:54.
54. "Catholics Train Own Peace Corps," *New York Times*, September 21, 1961.
55. John J. Considine, Diary, October 5–8, 1961, MMA; John J. Considine to Laurence J. McGinley, October 9, 1961, CUA 186:52.
56. "Boot Camp for Urbanites," *Time*, October 27, 1961. The article claims that there were sixty-eight students at the beginning, but the detailed records in the CUA collection present strong evidence that there were sixty-two.
57. Illich, quoted in Wayne Cowan, "An Interview with Ivan Illich," *Christianity and Crisis* (August 4, 1969), 214; *Data for Decision in Latin America*, [1961], CUA 186:63; Ivan Illich, "The redistribution of educational tasks between schools and other organs of society," *CIDOC*

Informa 5 (1967), 24/1–6; Ivan Illich, "Deschooling the Teaching Orders," *America* (January 9, 1971), 12–14.

58. Ivan Illich to William Mulcahy, June 11, 1963, FUL 24:5.
59. Henry Giniger, "Mexican Center Trains a New Kind of Priest for Latin America," *New York Times*, December 26, 1965.
60. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 253.
61. Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," 87, 105.
62. Ivan Illich to Michael Lies, October 7, 1961, CUA 186:52.
63. Ivan Illich, September 22, 1961, CUA 186:63. Illich's practice and endorsement of Eucharistic adoration, which was often seen by progressives as a retrograde practice, demonstrated the fundamental conservatism of his religious beliefs and practices.
64. "Center of Inter-Cultural Formation: Report of a brief visit, June 15–19, 1961," FUL 25:1.
65. Stanley Grabowski, "The Center of Intercultural Formation at Cuernavaca," *Occasional Bulletin from the Missionary Research Library* (April 1966), 3; Ceslaus Hoinacki, "The Liturgy at Cuernavaca," *Maryknoll* (September 1967), 14–17. Hoinacki had met Illich in Puerto Rico and then Illich had secured his services as CIF chaplain, despite the initial objections of Hoinacki's superior in the Dominicans: W. D. Marrin to Richard Cushing, September 24, 1962, CUA 186:54. Hoinacki also created a Mass for the neighboring town of Tepoztlán, similar to the Mariachi Mass but less flashy and using ancient indigenous instruments: Ramón Martsal, "La Revolución Religiosa," *Impacto* 865: 26–33, reprinted in Baltazar López, ed., *Cuernavaca: Fuentes para el Estudio de una Diocesis*, vol. 2, CIDOC Dossier 31 (Cuernavaca: Centro Intercultural de Documentatción, 1968), 474–482.
66. Lee Hoinacki, form letter, [1966], Carl Mitcham private collection, Alamo, Colorado (hereafter CM); "Mariachi: A New Sound at Mass," *St. Anthony Messenger* (October 1966), 35–41; "Mariachi Mass," *Maryknoll* (September 1967), 8–13; Isaac Rogel, interview, July 29, 2009.
67. Marlene de Nardo, as quoted in Costello, *Mission*, 65.
68. Charles Burton to Laurence McGinley, [1961], FUL 25:1.
69. "Father McGinley's Retirement and Cardinal Cushing's Words about CIF," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 3 (June 1963), 36.
70. Ivan Illich to Joseph Fitzpatrick, November 3, 1962, FUL 25:22.
71. Form letter, Lee Hoinacki, [December 1966], CM.

CHAPTER 03

1. Donald Hessler to John Considine, October 15, 1962, CUA 186:54.
2. Richard Cushing, "Papal Program for Latin America," September 1963, in John M. Stitz, *A New Pentecost: A Short History of the Lay Missioners-Kansas Program for Papal Volunteers, 1961–1969* (Kansas City, Kan.: Archdiocese of Kansas City, 1992), 11–13.
3. "News of Interest from Here and There," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 3 (June 1963), 38. In addition, Illich had established another training center in Petropolis, Brazil, for missionaries hoping to work in that country.
4. Manuel Larraín, as quoted in Gary MacEoin, *Latin America: The Eleventh Hour* (New York: J.P. Kenedy & Sons, 1962), 198.
5. Alcides Mendoza Castro, as quoted in MacEoin, *Latin America*, 198.
6. John J. Considine, Diary, April 9–16, 1962, MMA.
7. Ivan Illich, memo, February 9, 1962, as quoted in John Considine, memo, April 19, 1962, CUA 186:51.
8. John Considine, memo, April 19, 1962, CUA 186:51. The CIF never did receive the endorsement of those organizations, largely because Illich made it too controversial.
9. Costello, *Mission*, 112–115.
10. Michael Colonnese, as quoted in Costello, *Mission*, 113.
11. John J. Considine, Introduction, *The Church in the New Latin America*, John J. Considine, ed. (Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides, 1964), vii–ix; Costello, *Mission*, 114–115. Illich was invited but refused to participate in the planning or to give a presentation, citing his embarrassment about the image of the U.S. and Latin churches being presented at CICOP; he later agreed to attend the meeting: William Quinn to Ivan Illich, July 29, 1963, CUA 186:55; Ivan Illich to John Considine, September 1, 1963, CUA 186:30.
12. Luigi Ligutti and Dario Miranda y Gómez, as quoted in Considine, *The Church*, xi, xii.
13. Renato Poblete, "The Great Resurgence in Today's Latin America," *The Church*, 29.
14. Richard Cushing, as quoted in Considine, *The Church*, 103.
15. Aristides Calvani Silva, as quoted in Considine, *The Church*, 99.
16. Leo Mahon, as quoted in Considine, *The Church*, 111.
17. Leo Mahon, John Greeley, and Robert McGlinn, "The San Miguelito Paper," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 9 (February 1964), 36–40.

18. Marina Bandeira, as quoted in Costello, *Mission*, 117.
19. Considine, Introduction, *The Church*, xiii, 99.
20. Juan Landázuri Ricketts, "The Bright Light of Progress," in Considine, *Social Revolution*, 172, 176.
21. Richard Cushing to Paul Tanner, January 23, 1963, CUA 186:51.
22. Laurence McGinley to Paul Tanner, January 29, 1963, CUA 186:51; Laurence McGinley to John Considine, January 29, 1963, CUA 186:51.
23. John Considine to Laurence McGinley, February 5, 1963, CUA 186:51; John Considine to Laurence McGinley, January 15, 1963, CUA 186:51; "Institute for Inter-Cultural Communication, Six Week Report," October 18, 1963, CUA 187:65.
24. Dan McCarthy, *Mission to Peru: A Story of Papal Volunteers* (Milwaukee, Wisc.: Bruce, 1967), 144.
25. John Considine, Introduction, John Considine, ed., *Social Revolution in the New Latin America; a Catholic Appraisal* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides Publishers, 1966), vii, ix; Paul VI to Richard Cushing, January 6, 1965, in Considine, *Social Revolution*, 233–239.
26. Peter Hebbelthwaite, *Paul VI: The First Modern Pope* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 448–449.
27. Ivan Illich to Joseph Fitzpatrick, March 18, 1962, FUL 25:12.
28. Ivan Illich to John Considine, May 15, 1962, CUA 186:54; Ivan Illich to Fred McGuire, May 2, 1962, FUL 25:12.
29. Ivan Illich, Report [on Center for Intercultural Formation], September 22, 1961, CUA 186:63.
30. William Mulcahy to John Considine, March 13, 1963, CUA 186:51; Laurence McGinley to Antonio Samorè, February 6, 1963, CUA 186:51; Minutes, CIF Board Meeting, May 20, 1963, FUL 24:2.
31. "Meeting on Tuesday" [CIF Staff Meeting], June 11, 1963, FUL 24:5.
32. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 95.
33. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 54.
34. Masthead, "Notes from Editors," and "Those Directly Associated," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 1 (April 1962), 2, 54.
35. Ivan Illich, "A Note from the Publisher," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 10 (March 1964), 3–4.
36. Ivan Illich to Paul Philippe, November 30, 1965, FUL 24:3.
37. *CIF Reports* 1, no. 1 (April 1962), 6. Many articles in *CIF Reports* do not give authors or titles. Despite the first issue's veiled critiques of

the missionary initiative, Considine called it "a beautiful piece of pedagogy . . . a very promising project": John J. Considine, letter to the editor, *CIF Reports* 1, no. 3 (June 1962), 58.

38. William McKeon, "The Church in Chile: A Visit to a Country in Crisis," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 3 (June 1962), 30.
39. "The Papal Volunteers: Two Views from Chile," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 5 (October 1962), 49.
40. "Notes from the Editor," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 7 (December 1962), 4–6. Although this view of the task of the church was expansive in that it hoped for a revolutionary change in an entire society, it was reductive in the sense that it tended to marginalize evangelism, catechism, education, works of mercy, and other traditional forms of service. It was not accurate to reduce the options for volunteers to a stark dichotomy of priest-helper on one hand, and structure-builder on the other, for as *CIF Reports* itself would soon report, most volunteers were involved in teaching, catechetical, medical, welfare, community development, and credit union projects (March 1963). Lay Catholics, both missionary and national, had many ways to serve as Christians that had nothing to do with "helping priests." Probably the fundamental source of this attitude was the fact that Illich and his staff rejected or minimized the importance of the idea, accepted in many circles at the time and later presented in *CIF Reports* itself, that vast numbers of Latin Americans knew little or nothing of the Catholic faith.
41. "Revolution in America: A Christian Vision," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 9 (February 1969), 3, 6.
42. Roger Vekemens, "Revolution in America: A Christian Vision," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 9 (February 1963), 15. This is a summary of an article by Vekemens in the Chilean Jesuit journal *Mensaje* (December 1962).

CHAPTER 04

1. Jacque Bruron, "A Catholic Continent and the Christian Ideal," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 1(April 1962), 18.
2. Victor Zanartu, "The Veneer of Established Religion," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 1 (April 1962), 19–20.
3. Segundo Galilea, "Do We Really Know the Latin American Church," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 7 (December 1963), 6–7, 10–11. The relative silence

of the Latin American bishops at Vatican II—they made only 12 percent of the interventions in the 1962 and 1963 sessions despite making up 22 percent of the total bishops and despite representing 33 percent of all Catholics—offered evidence of the weakness of Latin American theology (and confidence): "Latin American Views in Vatican Council II," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 10 (March 1964), 10.

4. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 205.
5. Ivan Illich to John Considine, November 3, 1962, CUA 186:54.
6. Ivan Illich, "A Note from the Publisher," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 10 (March 1964), 3–5.
7. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 97.
8. Ivan Illich to John Considine, June 14, 1963, CUA 186:55; Ivan Illich to Joseph Fitzpatrick, January 16, 1964, FUL 11:1; "Trip of Major Religious Superiors," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 10 (March 1963), 46. The "key Church officials" are not listed, but in 1960 Illich had shared with Considine a list of his contacts in Latin America that included Gustavo Gutiérrez, Roger Vekemens, Rafael Larraín, Ernesto Proaño, and other progressive clerics: Ivan Illich to John Considine, August 22, 1960, CUA 186:53.
9. Ivan Illich to John Considine, June 14, 1963, CUA 186:55; "Latin America and Vatican Council II," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 10 (March 1964), 17; Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 147.
10. Ivan Illich to William Mulcahy, June 11, 1963, FUL 24:5.
11. Ivan Illich, diary of staff meeting, June 8, 1963, FUL 24:5.
12. Ivan Illich to Lawrence McGinley, May 3, 1963, FUL 24:5.
13. Antonio Samorè to John Considine, August 20, 1963, MMA; John Considine to Antonio Samorè, September 3, 1963, MMA.
14. Antonio Samorè to Lawrence McGinley, June 30, 1963, FUL 24:14. The LAB's Bill Quinn was trying to get North American and Latin American bishops together in Rome: John Considine to Renato Poblete, October 23, 1963, CUA 186:30.
15. Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 120; Edward L. Cleary, *Crisis and Change: The Church in Latin America Today* (Orbis Books, 1985), 35; Osvaldo Luis Mottesi, "An Historically Mediated Pastoral of Liberation: Gustavo Gutiérrez's Pilgrimage Toward Socialism" (Ph.D. thesis, Emory, 1985), 32.

16. Gustavo Gutiérrez, as quoted in Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology*, 120.
17. Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology*, 120.
18. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 149.
19. Mottesi, "An Historically Mediated Pastoral," 32–35.
20. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 100; Michael Novak, *The Open Church: Vatican II, Act II* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), 41.
21. Lee Hoinacki, "Ivan Illich, 1926–2002" [draft obituary for "Catholic Penn Fellowship Newsletter"], February 5, 2003, CM.
22. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 103.
23. "Informe de la reunión teológica de Cuernavaca," 1965, FUL 25:1.
24. Segundo Galilea, "Another Step Forward: ISPLA," *CIF Reports* 3, no. 5 (August 1964), 1–7; Instituto Pastoral Latinoamericano, "Ciculo Número 7," 1965, FUL 24:21; Enrique Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation (1492–1979)* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1981), 245; "CELAM & ISPLA," *CIDOC Informa* II, no. 20 (1965), 10/11. Galilea is listed as a "collaborator" in the 1965 CIF catalogue, FUL 24:27; he was given 100 pesos per week for expenses and was listed as a member of the CIF staff in 1965: "Living Expenses, Staff," October 1965, FUL 25:1. Galilea also announced the creation of a new center for pastoral research (Centro de Investigaciones Pastorales) in Cuernavaca that would foster pastoral reflection firmly based on Latin American reality but committed to dialogue with pastoral theologians in Europe, especially pastoral centers in Salamanca and Paris. "Informe de la reunión teológica de Cuernavaca," 1965, FUL 25:1.
25. Wayne Cowan, "An Interview with Ivan Illich," *Christianity and Crisis* (August 4, 1969), 215. It is not clear what happened to the Centro de Investigaciones Pastorales.
26. Bernardino Piñera, "Pastoral Letter," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 3 (June 1962), 28.
27. "South American Labor Leaders Two-Month Tour of the US," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 3 (June 1962), 55.
28. Bernardino Piñera, "Pastoral Letter, 1962," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 5 (October 1962), 18.
29. Juan Luís Segundo, "The Passage to Pluralism in Latin America," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 7 (December 1962), 8–15; Juan Luís Segundo, "The

Future of 'Cristianismo' in Latin America," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 2 (May 1963), 18–37.

30. In *A Theology of Liberation* Gutiérrez gives history, especially Latin American history, great prominence, as is evident from chapters called "Encountering God in History" and "The Church: Sacrament of History," and from the central opposition in his work, dependency and liberation, which is in his mind substantially a product of history. He goes so far as to say that he conceives of history as "a process of the liberation of man" (32). See also the work of Enrique Dussell, a historian and liberationist.
31. Summary of Alejandro Magnet, "The History Behind Revolution in Latin America," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 6 (November 1963), 9–11, based on the original in *Mensaje* 123 (October 1963).
32. Julio Bazan and Gerardo Claps, "Human Integration in the Economic Process," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 6 (November 1963), 22.
33. Peter Brison, review of *Christianity and Revolution: The Lesson of Cuba*, *CIF Reports* 2, no. 6 (November 1963), 34.
34. "Latin American Voices at Vatican II," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 6 (November 1963), 37.
35. Cleary, *Crisis and Change*, 35; Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology*, 120.
36. Cleary, *Crisis and Change*, 35; Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology*, 120; CIF Catalogue, 1965, FUL 24:27.
37. "These networks are the driving force of the Latin American church. At its core is a group of intellectuals, most of them active in the elaboration of theology of liberation . . . Theologians act as the inner force of the Latin American church and another network functions as the connecting force." Cleary, *Crisis and Change*, 15, 16. When Illich was investigated by CELAM in 1967, he responded by inviting the organization to send "a small group of theologians" to Cuernavaca "to reflect together on matters of common interest": Lucio Gera to Avelar Brandão, September 30, 1967, in Ocampo, *México*, 1003. Juan Luis Segundo taught at both CENFI and CIF: John Vogel to Joseph Fitzpatrick, September 22, 1962, FUL 24:5.
38. Cleary, *Crisis and Change*, 22.
39. Cleary, *Crisis and Change*, 34.

40. Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, 1967, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum_en.html
41. Most were impressed, but some labor leaders believed he had not gone far enough: "Letter from the Trade Unions to Pope Paul VI" (July 18, 1968), in Gheerbrant, *The Rebel Church*, 71.
42. Cleary, *Crisis and Change*, 34.
43. Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericana, "II Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano: Justicia," Vicaria Episcopal de Pastoral, Arquidiocesis de Mexico, http://www.vicariadepastoral.org.mx/5_celam/2-medellin/medellin_contenido.htm.
44. Cleary, *Crisis and Change*, 43.
45. Helder Pessoa Camara, *CIF Reports* 2, no. 7 (December 1963), 27.
46. José Comblin, "The Psuedo-manifesto of Fr Comblin" (June 14, 1968), in Gheerbrant, *The Rebel Church*, 228.
47. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 63, 66.
48. The continued growth of Protestantism (in this case of the evangelical variety) should have been problematic for Illich, since Protestantism tends to accelerate the secularization of society and is associated with individualism, commercialism, and industrialization. To complicate matters still further, Illich's critique of Catholic missions was soon applied to Protestant missions as well. For the relationship of Protestantism to modernity and secularization in Europe and the United States, see Brad Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012). For the relationship of Protestantism with modernity and secularization in Mexico and the spread of the anti-missionary critique to Protestants, see Hartch, *Missionaries of the State*.
49. John Considine to Ivan Illich, February 27, 1963, CUA 187:8; Ivan Illich to John Considine, April 2, 1963, CUA 186:55.
50. Draft letter, Ivan Illich to John Considine, June 24, 1963, FUL 25:1; Ivan Illich, diary of CIF staff meeting, June 8, 1963, FUL 25:4; Ivan Illich to William Mulcahy, June 25, 1963, FUL 25:1.
51. John Considine to William Mulcahy, September 15, 1965, FUL 25:1.
52. Ivan Illich to Joseph Fitzpatrick, December 26, 1965, FUL 24:3. "Paul," of course, would be Pope Paul VI.

53. Illich, *The Rivers North*, 194–195. Illich's judgment of Considine and the missionary initiative in Latin America also does not square well with CIF's self-presentation in 1963. A CIF brochure from that year cites Pope John XXIII's call as the reason for the CIF's existence and explains its mission as developing courses and publications "to facilitate the implementation of the Holy Father's desire." It goes on to mention fifty-one graduates serving in Brazil, thirty-two in Peru, fifteen in Chile, and twenty-seven in Central America: "Center of Intercultural Formation" [brochure], [1963], CUA 186:62.
54. Pontifical Commission for Latin America, "Papal Volunteers for Apostolic Collaboration in Latin America," May 19, 1960, in Stitz, *A New Pentecost*, 4–7.
55. John Considine to Board of Directors, Center for Intercultural Formation, April 1, 1966, FUL 24:2.

CHAPTER 05

1. Ivan Illich to Guido del Mestri, January 18, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1022.
2. Ivan Illich to Paul VI, August 29, 1966, in Ocampo, *México*. Number of priests and sisters comes from *Correa del Sur* February 2, 1967, as cited in Salvador Abascal, *La Secta Socialista En México: Ivan, Don Sergio, Don Ramón, Don Enrique, Alejandro, Genaro* (México: Editorial Ser, 1971), 49.
3. Lee Hoinacki to "Dear Father," 1965, FUL 24:27; "Status of Cuernavaca Conversations," February 19, 1965, FUL 25:1. This last document includes an organizational chart in which CIDOC, rather than CIF, is at the top. The exact chronology of the transition is not clear, but CIDOC was incorporated in Mexico in 1963 (CIDOC Course Catalogue, March 1970, CM) and by July 1964 *CIF Reports* was listing CIDOC as the part of CIF that published *CIF Reports, CIF Monographs*, and *CIF Studies;* by 1965 CIDOC appeared to be the dominant institution, although, as late as the fall of 1966 and after the move to Rancho Tetela, the center was still going by the name Center of Intercultural Formation, with CIDOC and CIP as departments of CIF: Center of Intercultural Formation, "Questions asked about Cuernavaca's Program for Fall 1966," FUL 24:27. For a short period there

was also a CIDAL, or Centro de Investigaciones para el Desarollo de América Latina (Research Center for the Development of Latin America). The 1964 conference on education included Paulo Freire, Everett Reimer, and Joseph Fitzpatrick: *CIF Reports* 3, no. 4 (July 1964), 37–38; Valentina Borremans to Candido Padim and Lucio Gera, September 25, 1967, in Ocampo, *México*, 1003; Carmen Pérez Bello, "Información sobre CIDOC," January 22, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3004.

4. CIF-CIDOC, "Feliz Navidad," December 1964, CM.
5. Francisco Aguilera to Apostolic Delegate, August 20, 1966, in Ocampo, *México*, 1001. Hoinacki had met Illich in New York and then again in Puerto Rico and took a vacation at CIDOC in 1962. Illich asked the master general of the Dominicans in Rome for his services, was refused, kept asking, and eventually got permission for Hoinacki to be the CIF chaplain. In 1967 Hoinacki left the active priesthood, married a former nun from California named Maria Dubar in a civil ceremony, and left Mexico for graduate school in California. He continued to be one of the leading authorities on Illich until his death in 2014. Richard Whittacker, "Interview: Lee Hoinacki," *Works & Conversations* (September 21, 2000), www.conversations.org.
6. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 99; Costello, *Mission*, 122–124; Ivan Illich, "The Seamy Side of Charity," in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 53–55, originally published in *America*, 116:3 (January 21, 1967), 88–91.
7. Carlos Confalonieri, "A View from Rome," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 7 (December 1963), 25.
8. Romulo Carboni, "One Nuncio's View," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 7 (December 1963), 26.
9. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 53–55.
10. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 98.
11. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 57–58. This charge was unfair to Considine and the LAB. Considine *did* come up with the ten percent plan, but the Vatican accepted it and supported it enthusiastically, as Considine meticulously details in *The Church in the New Latin America*, John J. Considine, ed. (Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides, 1964), 99–103. In the same vein, Pius XII (1939–58) and John XXIII (1958–63) had emphasized U.S. support for the Latin American Church, and Archbishop Antonio

Samorè (Secretary of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America) had expressed John XXIII's support for five percent of the funds raised for certain Catholic charities being designated for Latin America: James Garneau, "The First Inter-American Episcopal Conference, November 2–4, 1959: Canada and the United States called to the Rescue of Latin America," *Catholic Historical Review* 87, issue 4 (October 2001), 683. In fact, it is possible that Samorè's use of percentages in reference to finances gave Considine the idea of using percentages as a goal in reference to personnel.

12. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 60–65. An Irish priest serving in Mexico expressed similar views: "Even if I had a million pounds I wouldn't give them [poor Mexicans] money. That's what the Americans do, they think they can solve problems that way." Peadar Kirby, *Lessons in Liberation: The Church in Latin America* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1981), 74.
13. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 65–67.
14. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 64, 68. Although he did not mention liberation theology specifically, there were certainly parallels here to some of Gustavo Gutiérrez's key ideas. Gutiérrez also rejected the idea of building the church through wealth and power: "the church was to be a sign of salvation according to Vatican Council II. Today we understand even better. We are called to build the church *from below*, from the poor up, from the exploited classes, the marginalized ethnic groups, the despised cultures. This is what we call the project of the popular church, a church that, under the influence of the Spirit, arises from within the masses." Gustavo Gutiérrez, as quoted in Mottesi, "An Historically Mediated Pastoral of Liberation: Gustavo Gutiérrez's Pilgrimage Toward Socialism" (PhD, Emory, 1985), 217–218.
15. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 57, 61, 66. American bishops did, in fact, view the missionary initiative as a parallel effort to the Alliance for Progress. Cardinal Joseph Ritter called the initiative the "spiritual counterpart to the Alliance for Progress": "US Catholics Start 'Spiritual Alliance' for Latin America," *New York Times*, January 8, 1966.
16. Illich, "Violence: A Mirror for Americans," in Illich, *A Celebration of Awareness*, 23.
17. Louis Luzbetak, "International Cultural Problems" (CICOP Working Paper C-34–67), Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program,

Catholic Church., and Bishops' Committee for the Church in Latin America., *CICOP Working Papers* (Davenport, Iowa: Latin America Bureau, 1967), 10.

18. Costello, *Mission*, 127; "Four Join Cushing in Jesuit Rebuke," *New York Times*, January 28, 1967; Margaret Carlan, "Magazine Article Denounced by Cardinal, Apostolic Delegate," NC News Service, [January 1967].
19. Margaret Carlan, "Magazine Article Denounced by Cardinal, Apostolic Delegate," NC News Service, [January 1967]; Luis Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano*, Colección Nuestras cosas 4 (México, D.F.: Editorial Grijalbo, 1970), 159.
20. Margaret Carlan, "Magazine Article Denounced by Cardinal, Apostolic Delegate," NC News Service, [January 1967]; Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano*, 159.
21. Joseph Heim, as quoted in Costello, *Mission*, 166.
22. "Four Join Cushing in Rebuke," *New York Times*, January 28, 1967.
23. The article by Illich and responses by Maza, Sáenz Arriaga, and others may be found in Joaquín Sáenz Arriaga, *Cuernavaca y el Progresismo Religioso en México* (México: 1967), 81–111.
24. Costello, *Mission*, 125.
25. Eduardo Pironio, "Should Priests Be Sent to Latin America?" speech to executive board of Pontifical Commission for Latin America, June 18, 1969, John Dearden Papers, University of Notre Dame (hereafter NDJD), 13:18; "The Problem of Foreign Assistance," Document No. 1, Interamerican Meeting of Bishops, February 3, 1970, NDJD 13:18.
26. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65; *CIF Reports* consistently painted a similar picture of Latin American Catholicism, for example in R. Ricard, "Latin America's Heritage of Catholicism," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 1 (April 1962), 21.
27. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 63–68; Illich, "The Powerless Church," in *Celebration of Awareness*, 97. Italics in original.
28. Ivan Illich, "The Vanishing Clergyman," in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 71, 72, 77, 79; *CIF Reports* had long implied a similar view: "Laicization of the Christian Ministry," *CIF Reports* 2, no. 2 (March 1963), 25. As will be discussed in Chapter Nine, this was not a call to abolish the priesthood or even priestly celibacy; Illich used the words "clergy" and "clerical" not as synonyms for priests and religious but as

words that indicated the bureaucratic, administrative orientation of institutional functionaries. In contradistinction to the Catholic left, he asserted that the creation of a "new pastoral church" was directly related to compliance with the pope's insistence on "the tie between celibacy and the priesthood."

29. Sergio Méndez Arceo, as quoted in Sáenz Arriaga, *El Progresismo Religioso*, 219–221.
30. Ivan Illich to James M. Darby, January 14, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1016.
31. Ivan Illich, quoted in *Siempre* (July 12, 1967), in Sáenz Arriaga, *El Progresismo Religioso*, 135. The word "formation" in the old name, Center for Intercultural Formation, is commonly used in the sense of "spiritual formation," the development of one's spiritual life, often under the direction of a spiritual director, such as a priest, and was explicitly linked to this sense of the word in the 1962 and 1963 CIF informational pamphlets: "Center of Intercultural Formation," 1962, FUL 24:5; "The Center of Intercultural Formation," 1963, FUL 24:27.
32. Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano*, 147.
33. Lucio Gera to Avelar Brindao, September 30, 1967, in Ocampo, *México*, 1003.
34. Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano*, 164.
35. Costello, *Mission*, 129–130; Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 120, 121.
36. Ivan Illich to Francis Spellman, October 12, 1967, in Ocampo, *México*, 1004; Francis Spellman to Octaviano Márquez, November 10, 1967, in Ocampo, *México*, 1005; Ivan Illich to Paul VI, December 12, 1967, in Ocampo, *México*, 1006; Ivan Illich to Sergio Méndez Arceo, December 12, 1967, in Ocampo, *México*, 1007; Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano*, 164–166; "Get Going and Don't Come Back," February 14, 1969, *Time*.
37. John J. Maguire to Ivan Illich, December 19, 1967, in Ocampo, *México*, 1008; John J. Maguire to Ivan Illich, January 3, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1010; Ivan Illich to John Maguire, January 10, 1968, Ocampo, *México*, 1011; John J. Maguire to Ivan Illich, January 11, 1968, Ocampo, *México*, 1012; Ivan Illich to John J. Maguire, January 16, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1019; Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano*, 164–166.

38. Ivan Illich to Guido del Mestri, January 18, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1022.
39. Ivan Illich to Guido del Mestri, February 26, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1030.
40. Guido del Mestri to Ivan Illich, March 20, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1031; "Illich bares 85-point bill of complaints used in Holy Office grilling," *National Catholic Reporter* 5, no. 16 (February 12, 1969), 1, 6.
41. Conferencia del Episcopado Mexicano, "Acta No. 1; correspondiente a la sesión de la Conferencia Episcopal," June 7, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1033; Adalberto Almeida Merino to Ivan Illich, July 30, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 2008; Adalberto Almeida Merino to Guido del Mestri, July 6, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 2006. When del Mestri called Illich to trial in Rome, he cited Almeida's charges specifically: Guido del Mestri to Ivan Illich, June 10, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1034.
42. Ivan Illich to Paul Philippe, November 30, 1965, FUL 24:3; Ivan Illich to Joseph Fitzpatrick, December 26, 1965, FUL 24:3. Philippe seems to have been committed to believing the worst about Illich, telling a French bishop on two occasions that Cuban revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara had been a CIDOC leader: Guy Marie Riobé to Cardinal Seper, May 1, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3429.
43. Guido del Mestri to Ivan Illich, June 10, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1034; Ivan Illich to Guido del Mestri, June 12, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 1035; Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano*, 166–167. An anonymous letter that Illich received in 1969 and whose accuracy is impossible to verify suggests that the Padin–Gera report was never taken into account by the CDF, that Dominican scholar Jean de Menasce had provided some sort of damaging information about Illich, that Secretary Philippe led the CDF beyond its legal parameters and committed various irregularities in its investigation of Illich, that Monsignor Luigi de Magistris (a protégé of conservative Cardinal Ottaviani) had been the one who formulated the eighty-five questions in Illich's trial, that Cardinal Seper had not seen the questions until ten minutes before the trial, that Cardinal Ottaviani had been behind the entire process, that a meeting of the CDF led by Cardinal Seper on October 30, 1968, basically acquitted Illich of any wrongdoing, that Seper was so upset with de Magistris's behavior that he

had him transferred out of the CDF on February 21, 1969, and that Paul VI never understood the number of irregularities involved in the case: Anonymous to Ivan Illich, February 24, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3294. This letter, written in Italian and posted from Vatican City only three days after de Magistris was transferred out of the CDF, might well have been written by someone associated with that congregation. De Menasce was a friend and intellectual colleague of several members of the Little Brothers of Jesus, with whom Illich had a close relationship, and could have met Illich through them or could have heard reports from them. De Menasce was also a close friend of Swiss Cardinal Charles Journet. René Laurentin appears to confirm much of this story: René Laurentin, "Desde Roma: como fue derogada la medida contra el Centro de Cuernavaca," in Ocampo, *México*, 3532.

44. Edward Fiske, "Head of Cultural Center tells of Secret Hearing in Vatican," *New York Times*, February 4, 1969; Francine du Plessix Gray, *Divine Disobedience: Profiles in Catholic Radicalism*. (New York, Knopf, 1969), 234–237. Illich's description of Seper supports the possibility that the guiding force behind the trial was someone other than Seper.
45. Edward Fiske, "Head of Cultural Center tells of Secret Hearing in Vatican," *New York Times*, February 4, 1969. All eighty-five questions are listed in Luis Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano* (Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1970), 167–177.
46. "Illich bares 85-point bill of complaint used in Holy Office grilling," *National Catholic Reporter* 5, no. 16 (February 12, 1969), 1, 6; Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 235–237; Edward Fiske, "Head of Cultural Center tells of Secret Hearing in Vatican," *New York Times*, February 4, 1969; Peter Schrag, "Ivan Illich: The Christian as Rebel," *Saturday Review* (July 19, 1969), 15–16; Ladislas Orsy, "Questions about a Questionnaire," *America*, February 15, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3241. Illich had been closely involved with the sessions of Vatican II in which the Holy Office had been discussed and he knew that Paul VI had reformed it in 1965, so he was particularly surprised and angered by the irregularities that characterized his trial.
47. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 237–240; Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 99.

48. Edward Fiske, "Head of Cultural Center tells of Secret Hearing in Vatican," *New York Times*, February 4, 1969.
49. Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Brothers_Karamazov/Book_V/Chapter_5; Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 240; Edward Fiske, "Head of Cultural Center tells of Secret Hearing in Vatican," *New York Times*, February 4, 1969.
50. René Laurentin, "A propos du cas de Mgr. Illich," *Figaro* (April 4, 1969), in Ocampo, *México*, 3387.
51. Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 241.
52. Ivan Illich to Sergio Méndez Arceo, June 24, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 2003; Terence Cooke to Ivan Illich, September 26, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 2013; Ivan Illich to Sergio Méndez Arceo, January 14, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3002.
53. Ivan Illich to Terence Cooke, March 15, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3334.
54. Ivan Illich to Franjo Seper, June 18, 1968, in Luis Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano*, 184; Ivan Illich to Terence Cooke, March 25, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3337.
55. Ivan Illich, quoted in Gray, *Disobedience,* 312.
56. Ivan Illich, "Philosophy . . . Artifacts . . . Friendship," 1996, http://www.davidtinapple.com/illich/1996_philo_arti_friends.PDF. Illich's coded theological message is discussed in Chapter Nine.
57. Ivan Illich to Betsie Hollants, August 14, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 2010.
58. Ivan Illich, "The Vanishing Clergyman," in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 68–69.
59. Ivan Illich to Francesco Seper, June 18, 1968, in *National Catholic Reporter* (February 12, 1969).

CHAPTER 06

1. Lee Hoinacki, "The Latin American Church and Renewal," *The Catholic World* 206, no. 1231 (October 1967), 27–33.
2. "Rome bars priests from Illich center," *National Catholic Reporter* 5, no. 14 (January 29, 1969), 1; Luis Suárez, "Consternado por la decision del papa contra el CIDOC," *Siempre*, February 5, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3183; Suárez, *Cuernavaca ante el Vaticano*, 134,

185–188; Ivan Illich, "Between Jail and Campus: The Chaplain's Halfway House," in Illich, *Church, Change, and Development*, 54. Carmen Pérez's response, although accurate in a literal sense, was somewhat disingenuous, for she had served as Illich's secretary at CIF and knew full well that CIF had evolved into CIDOC: Ivan Illich [dictated to Carmen Pérez and printed on CIF letterhead] to Edward Burke, March 5, 1964, FUL 25:1. Similarly, as late as the fall of 1966 and *after* the move to Rancho Tetela, the center was still going by the name Center of Intercultural Formation, with CIDOC and CIP as departments of CIF: Center of Intercultural Formation, "Questions asked about Cuernavaca's Program for Fall 1966," FUL 24:27.

3. Robert Doty, "Pontiff Rejects 'Secular' Priests," *New York Times*, February 18, 1969.
4. Ivan Illich to Sergio Méndez Arceo, January 19, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3004.
5. Ivan Illich to Betsie Hollants, August 14, 1968, in Ocampo, *México*, 2010; Edward Fiske, "Vatican Curb Aimed at Cultural Center of Reform Advocate," *New York Times*, January 23, 1969. "Holy Office!," *National Catholic Reporter*, February 12, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3213. The document collection is Ocampo, *México*.
6. Sergio Méndez Arceo, "Carta pastoral sobre el CIDOC," June 21, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3472; Rodolfo Rojas Zea, "Sorprendió en el CIDOC la noticia atribuida al Vaticano," *El Día*, June 18, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3486. In 1967 the CIF board authorized Illich "to continue as president of the Mexican corporation known as CIDOC": Minutes, Special Meeting of Board of Directors and Members, CIF, January 10, 1967, FUL 24:2. In October 1967 Illich had resigned as executive director of CIF and Fordham had officially severed its connection with the center, but CIF continued to be 1) the tax-exempt entity in the United States that accepted donations for CIDOC and 2) the receiver of CIDOC earnings that, because of Mexican tax law, would then be sent back to Mexico to pay CIDOC personnel: Minutes, CIF Directors' Meeting, October 27, 1967, FUL 24:1.
7. Ivan Illich to R. Hoyt and E. Fiske, June 16, 1969, in Ocampo, *México*, 3449.
8. "Center of Intercultural Formation, Receipts and Disbursements, January 1, 1964, to June 30, 1964," FUL 24:1; "Center of Intercultural

Formation, Receipts and Disbursements, January 1, 1965, to June 10, 1966," FUL 24:1.

9. "The Center of Intercultural Formation" [1965], FUL 24:27.
10. Minutes, CIF, Annual Meeting of Corporate Members and Board of Directors, September 29, 1969, FUL 24:2; Ivan Illich to George Bentz, August 19, 1970, FUL 24:3.
11. Juan de Onis, "Bishops Divided at Latin Parley," *New York Times*, June 8, 1969.
12. Jeremiah O'Leary, "Colonnese New Latin America Bureau Director," *National Catholic Reporter*, [date obscured, 1968], CM.
13. All facts and quotations in this paragraph come from Costello, *Mission to Latin America*, 110–111, 120.
14. Costello, *Mission*, 121, 178; Juan de Onis, "Bishops divided at Latin Parley," *New York Times*, June 8, 1969.
15. John Considine, Introduction, in Considine, ed., *Social Revolution*.
16. Marina Bandeira, "Christian Social Movements in Latin America," in Considine, *Social Revolution*, 100–101.
17. Mark McGrath, "The Church and Social Revolution in Latin America," in Considine, *Social Revolution*, 149–150; Adrian Hastings, "Christianity and Revolution," *African Affairs* 74, no. 296 (July 1975), 352.
18. Samuel Shapiro, Preface, in Samuel Shapiro, *Cultural Factors in Inter-American Relations*, (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), ix, x.
19. Rubem Alves, "Violence and Counterviolence," in Shapiro, *Cultural Factors*, 35–38.
20. Ivan Illich, review of *Cultural Factors in Inter-American Relations* (CICOP 1967), *Hispanic American Historical Review* 50, no. 2 (May 1970), 351–352.
21. Second Vatican Council, "Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church—Ad Gentes," November 18, 1965, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19,651,207_ad-gentes_en.html.
22. Louis M. Colonnese, "Introduction," Louis M. Colonnese, ed., and Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program, *Conscientization for Liberation* (Washington, D.C.: Division for Latin America, U.S. Catholic Conference, 1971), xix, xx.

23. Paulo Freire, "Education as Cultural Action," in Colonnese, *Conscientization*, 118, 120.
24. Gustavo Gutiérrez, "A Latin American Perception of a Theology of Liberation," in Colonnese, *Conscientization*, 67.
25. Samuel Ruiz García, "The Latin American Church since Medellín: Expectations and Accomplishments," in Colonnese, *Conscientization*, 87.
26. Luis Ambroggio, "Man and His Revolution," in Colonnese, *Conscientization*,15, 19; Cesar Aguiar, "Currents and Tendencies in Contemporary Latin American Catholicism," in Colonnese, *Conscientization*, 36, 49.
27. Louis Colonnese, "North American Perceptions of the Influence and Inspiration of the Post-Medellín Latin American Church," in Colonnese, *Conscientization*, 95.
28. Second Vatican Council, "Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church—Ad Gentes," 7, 16.
29. "CICOP 1973 Prospectus," in Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program and International Documentation on the Contemporary Church (Association), *Poverty, Environment and Power* (New York: IDOC-North America, North American Edition, 1973), 4. Only the last page (64) of the conference proceedings contains significant treatment of the missionary initiative.
30. Samuel Ruiz García, "The Quest for Justice as Latin Americans Live It," in Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program, *Poverty*, 47, 48.
31. "The Work Groups: Reports and Recommendations," in Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program, *Poverty*, 57–63.
32. "The Work Groups: Reports and Recommendations," in Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program, *Poverty*, 60–61.
33. Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, March 26, 1967, www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum_en.html, paragraphs 22–26, 57–59.
34. Costello, *Mission to Latin America*, 181.
35. Edward L. Cleary, *The Struggle for Human Rights in Latin America* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1997), 142.
36. Angelyn Dries, personal communication, November 2007.
37. Kirby, *Lessons in Liberation*, 60; Schrag, "Ivan Illich," 15: "Ivan Illich," Federal Bureau of Investigation, FOIA 105–147383–3, 6; "Lini de Vries," FBI FOIA 101-HQ-4782.

38. Costello, *Mission to Latin America*, 179–181. Costello details several other controversial statements and acts by Colonnese. See also *Commonweal* (September 1971).
39. Louis Michael Colonnese, "Mission Crossroads," *Priests and Religious for Latin America: Proceedings and Conclusions of the First Inter-American Conference of Religious, Mexico City, February 8–12, 1971* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Conference Division for Latin America, 1971), vi–viii.
40. Shepherd Bliss, "CICOP: Mis-communication and Crisis," *Christian Century* (March 8, 1972), 285–287.
41. Roman Arrieta to Joseph Bernardin, May 15, 1971, NDJD 13:20; "América Latina tiene derecho," *La Republica* (Costa Rica), May 13, 1971; Joseph Bernardin to U.S. Catholic Conference executive committee, August 20, 1971, NDJD 13:20; Fernando Gomes de Melo to U.S. Catholic Conference, August 10, 1971, NDJD 13:20; Avelar Brandão Marcos McGrath, Luís Henríquez, and Eduardo Pironio to John Dearden, August 4, 1971, NDJD 13:20.
42. Joseph Bernardin to U.S. Catholic Conference executive committee, August 20, 1971, NDJD 13:20; Joseph Bernardin to Giovanni Benelli, June 16, 1971, NDJD 13:20.
43. Costello, *Mission*, 179–181.
44. Frank Cordaro, "In Memory of Four Peacemakers," *Via Pacis: Newsletter of the Des Moines Catholic Worker Community* 27, no. 1 (February 2003): http://www.no-nukes.org/viapacis/feb03/feb03colonnese.html. Colonnese left the guerillas after three years, returned briefly to Iowa, and went back to El Salvador, where he founded the Hogar Juvenil Divino Salvador orphanage and school in the town of Sonsonate. He died in 2003.
45. Costello, *Mission*, 179–181, 210; John Considine, Introduction, *Social Revolution*, vii, ix.
46. Costello, *Mission*, 124–128; Illich, "The Seamy Side," 65.
47. Costello, *Mission*, 129.
48. Illich as quoted in Gray, *Divine Disobedience*, 274.
49. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 199.
50. Ivan Illich, *Conversations with Ivan Illich* (Madison, Wisc.: WORT-FM, 1976); Ivan Illich, *Interview with Ivan Illich* (Sydney: A.B.C., 1978); Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*; Ivan Illich, *The Corruption*

of Christianity: Ivan Illich on Gospel, Church and Society (Toronto: CBC Radio One, 2000); Illich, *The Rivers North*; Ivan Illich, *The Corruption of Christianity: Ivan Illich on Gospel, Church and Society* (Toronto: CBC Ideas Transcripts, 2000); Ivan Illich, *Life as Idol* (Toronto: CBC Radio One, 1992).

51. Ivan Illich, "On Style: The Root of Dissidence, Deviance, and Delinquency" [discussed at CIDOC in July 1969], reprinted 1973, CM.
52. Ivan Illich interviewed by Carl Ellenberg, Chaplains Council of Syracuse University, October 1969, CM.
53. Ivan Illich to Joseph Fitzpatrick, December 26, 1965, FUL 24:3.
54. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 96.
55. Henry Giniger, "Mexican Center Trains a New Kind of Priest," *New York Times*, December 26, 1965; Henry Giniger, "Latin Band Packs Church in Mexico," *New York Times*, January 22, 1968; "Controversial Priest," *New York Times*, January 23, 1969.
56. Edward Fiske, "The Mission is Sometimes Revolution," *New York Times*, January 28, 1968.
57. Edward Fiske, "Missionaries: Why the Call Has Fallen Off," *New York Times*, March 12, 1972.
58. Ernesto Cardenal, *Vida Perdida* ([Managua]: Anamá, 1999).
59. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 152.
60. As noted in the introduction to "The Vanishing Clergyman," Illich penned these words in 1959 but did not publish them until 1967: Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*, 69.

CHAPTER 07

1. Ceslaus Hoinacki, form letter, [1966], CM; CIDOC Catalogue, Winter 1975, CM.
2. Bob Olmstead, "What Illich Wrought: A Think Tank," *National Catholic Reporter* 4, no. 31 (May 29, 1968), 1, 7.
3. Key Yuasa, quoted in Olmstead, "What Illich Wrought: A Think Tank," 1, 7.
4. Ivan Illich Itinerary, September 1974 to April 1975, Calder & Boyars MSS, Lilly Library, Indiana University (hereafter cited as IU), series II, box 8, file 11 (II:8:2).
5. Peter Jenkins, "A Priest in Wolf's Clothing," *Guardian* (October 19, 1971).

6. Goldman, "Ivan Illich: Learning Is Unlearning," 33–35.
7. Ivan Illich, television show transcript, October 29, 1973, Thames Television, IU II:8:11; Nicholas Cohen to Marion Boyars, May 4, 1974, IU II:7:34; Ivan Illich, "Dr. Ivan Illich and Dr. A.H. Halsey in Conversation," transcript of BBC Radio 3, October 20, 1973, tape TLN 44/TX1148B, available at IU.
8. Ivan Illich, "Revolting Development," [transcript of talk given in 1976], *Reports Magazine* (April 1977), 16–18.
9. Memo, September 19, 1973, IU; D. A. N. Jones, "Media: Illich in London," *The Listener* (September 27, 1973).
10. John Hebert, "The Illich Solution," *Guardian* (September 28, 1974).
11. Geoff Watts, "A Burnt Out Case," *World Medicine* (March 26, 1975), 16; Goldman, "Ivan Illich: Learning Is Unlearning," 33. Carlos A. Castaneda was a Peruvian native who enjoyed great popularity in the 1970s in the United States for his writings on Yaqui (Mexican indigenous) spirituality and shamanism.
12. Everett Egginton, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC: Impressions of a Participant Observer," April 1972, CM.
13. CIDOC Course Catalogue, March 1970, CM.
14. CIDOC Course Catalogue, March 1970, CM; Bob Olmstead, "What Illich Wrought: A Think Tank," 1, 7.
15. Jack Fields, "Sour Apples in Eden: Ivan Illich at Work," *Teachers College Record* 73, no. 1 (September 1971), 107–115.
16. Fields, "Sour Apples in Eden," 107–115.
17. CIDOC Course Catalogue, March 1970, CM.
18. Two other persons—perhaps Alejandro del Corro and Francisco Juliao—associated with CIDOC were also under investigation, but their names have been censored by the FBI. De Vries served as a nurse in the Spanish Civil War, joined the Communist Party in 1937, recruited Elizabeth Bentley (later an informer for the FBI) for the party, and was one of many party members in Mexico in the 1950s. In 1949 the FBI believed she was setting up "a base of operations for expelled Communist Party members" in Mexico, and in 1950 they said she was part of a "factional sabotage group"; she maintained contacts with American, Mexican, and Spanish communists during her time in Mexico but was not considered a threat by the 1960s. "Ivan Illich," Federal Bureau of Investigation, FOIA 105–147383–3, 6; "Lini de

Vries," FBI FOIA 101-HQ-4782; Peter Schrag, "Ivan Illich: The Christian as Rebel," *Saturday Review* (July 19, 1969), 15.

19. CIDOC Course Catalogue, March 1970, CM.
20. Wyn Courtney, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC: Impressions of an Observant Participant" (May 1972), CM.
21. Judy Weiss, "CIDOC Memories," Teacher Drop-Out Center newsletter, Amherst, Massachusetts, August 1972, CM. Comenius (1592–1670) was a Czech who proposed universal education.
22. CIDOC Course Catalogue, March 1970, CM.
23. Fields, "Sour Apples in Eden," 107–115.
24. Toby Moffett, "Leaving the Guru Behind: Impressions of an Educational Mecca," *Edcentric* 3, no. 3 (April 1971), 3–7.
25. Moffett, "Leaving the Guru Behind," 3–7.
26. Fields, "Sour Apples in Eden," 107–115.
27. Anna Marie Taylor, "CIDOC: School for Revolutionaries?" *The Daily Cardinal* (March 13, 1972).
28. Shepherd Bliss, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC as Theater," *Christian Century* (December 2, 1970), 1463–1465; Shepherd Bliss, personal communication, May 15, 2009.
29. Egginton, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC."
30. "CIDOC: Alternatives in Design and Education," *Architectural Record* (July 1971), 117–118.
31. John Holt to Students at the Center for Intercultural Documentation, February 19, 1970, and John Holt to Pam Dant, February 23, 1971, in John Holt, *A Life Worth Living: Selected Letters of John Holt* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), 57, 91.
32. Bliss, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC as Theater," 1463–1465.
33. Taylor, "CIDOC: School for Revolutionaries?"
34. Courtney, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC."
35. Fields, "Sour Apples in Eden," 107–115.
36. Harvey Haber, quoted in Moffett, "Leaving the Guru Behind," 3–7.
37. Egginton, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC."
38. Egginton, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC."
39. Taylor, "CIDOC: School for Revolutionaries?"
40. Weiss, "CIDOC Memories."
41. Egginton, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC"; Philip Toynbee, "Pilgrimage to a Modern Prophet," *Observer* (February 24, 1974), 29; Joseph Fitzpatrick, "Prophet of Hope or Doom?" *America* (June 9, 1973), 535–537.

CHAPTER 08

1. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, (London: Calder and Boyars, 1971), 51.
2. Robert Merideth, "Ivan Illich and Cultural Revolution," *Soundings* LV, no. 2 (Summer 1972), 139–162; Illich, *Deschooling Society*.
3. Merideth, "Ivan Illich and Cultural Revolution," 139–162.
4. Merideth, "Ivan Illich and Cultural Revolution," 139–162.
5. Ivan Illich, "The Wisdom of Leopold Kohr," *Bulletin of Science, Technology, and Society* 17, no. 4 (1997), 157.
6. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 83.
7. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 66.
8. Illich, *Rivers North*, 141–144.
9. Illich, *Rivers North*, 145.
10. Illich, *Deschooling Society*
11. Illich, *Illich in Conversation*, 92
12. Lee Hoinacki, "Religious Orders and Crisis," [1966], CM.
13. Hoinacki, "Religious Orders and Crisis," [1966], CM.
14. Illich, quoted in Wayne Cowan, "An Interview with Ivan Illich," *Christianity and Crisis* (August 4, 1969), 214.
15. Everett Egginton, "Ivan Illich and CIDOC: Impressions of Participant Observer," April 1972, CM.
16. Carl Mitcham, "The Challenges of this Collection," in Lee Hoinacki and Carl Mitcham, eds., *The Challenges of Ivan Illich* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 13–14.
17. Mitcham, "The Challenges of this Collection," 13–14.
18. Brian Jackson, "An Evening with Ivan Illich," *New Statesman* (October 26, 1973), 596.
19. Peter Schrag, "Ivan Illich: The Christian as Rebel," *Saturday Review* (July 19, 1969), 19.
20. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 1.
21. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 1, 2.
22. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 13.
23. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 30–32.
24. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 46–47, 53–55.
25. This theme is treated more extensively in Ivan Illich, *Bolivia y la Revolución Cultural* (La Paz: Ministerio de Educación, 1970).
26. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 14, 53–55, 78–79.
27. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 13, 39.

28. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 15.
29. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 23, 47; Jack Fields, "Sour Apples in Eden: Ivan Illich at Work," *Teachers College Record* 73, no. 1 (September 1971), 111.
30. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 53–56.
31. Everrett Reimer, *School is Dead: Alternatives in Education* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971); Dennis Sullivan, *The Mask of Love: Corrections in America, Toward a Mutual Aid Alternative* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1980).
32. Ivan Illich, *Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health* (New York: Pantheon, 1976), 1.
33. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 226–227.
34. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 6.
35. Ivan Illich to Marion Boyars, June 26, 1974, IU II:7:34.
36. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 30–32.
37. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 40–42.
38. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 48–49, 61–62.
39. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 78–79, 88, 100–101.
40. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 127–131.
41. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 131–135.
42. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 135–139, 154.
43. Nicolas Walter, "Tool of Conviviality," *New Humanist* (June 1974), 58–59.
44. John Ohliger, *Bibliography of Comments on the Illich-Reimer Deschooling Thesis*, ERIC Clearinghouse, no. SP007833, a version of which is available in IU II:8:8; *Deschooling Society* was translated into French, German, Spanish, Finnish, Malayalam, Greek, Norwegian, Portuguese, Polish, Slavic, Japanese, and Indonesian: Carl Mitcham, "The Challenges of this Collection," in Hoinacki and Mitcham, *The Challenges of Ivan Illich*, 25, 28.
45. John Ohliger, "The Visible Dissenters," *Educational Studies* 3, no. 4 (1972), 187–191: John H. Fischer, "Who Needs Schools," *Saturday Review* (September 19, 1970), 78–79; Daniel U. Levine, ed., *Farewell to Schools?* (Washington, Ohio: Jones, 1972).
46. U.S. Department of Education, "1.5 Million Homeschooled Students in the United States in 2007," *Issue Brief* (December 2008), nces.ed.gov/pubs2009/2009030.pdf. Of course, Illich's audience tended to

be the more politically progressive homeschoolers, as opposed to the conservative Catholic and Protestant homeschoolers, who rejected the *content* of public school education rather than the institution itself.

47. David Horrobin, *Medical Hubris: A Reply to Ivan Illich* (Montreal: Eden, 1977), 7–8; Buford Chappell, review of *Medical Nemesis*, *The Journal of the South Carolina Medical Association* (October 1976), 406.
48. G. M. Goeber to Katherine Elliott, July 12, 1974, IU II:8:1; David Astor to Marion Boyars, October 12, 1974, IU II:7:36; John Bradshaw to Marion Boyars, November 16, 1974, IU II:7:36.
49. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 202–204; Illich, "The Cultivation of Conspiracy," 236.
50. Schrag, "Ivan Illich: The Christian as Rebel," 19.
51. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 202–204; Illich, "The Cultivation of Conspiracy," 236.
52. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 202–204; Illich, "The Cultivation of Conspiracy," 236.

CHAPTER 09

1. Ivan Illich, "The Eloquence of Silence," in Illich, *Celebration*, 46; Geoff Watts, "A Burnt Out Case," *World Medicine* (March 26, 1975), 24.
2. John Holt to Ivan Illich, April 19, 1972, in John Holt, *A Life Worth Living: Selected Letters of John Holt* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990), 110.
3. James Morton, Introduction, in Illich, *Church, Change, and Development*, 9. Italics are in the original Morton quotation.
4. "The Letter speaks of deeds; Allegory to faith; the Moral how to act; Anagogy our destiny." Augustine of Dacia, *Rotulus pugillaris*, quoted in *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* 118, http://www.vatican.va/archive/catechism/ccc_toc.htm.
5. John Peter Kenney, "The Critical Value of Negative Theology," *The Harvard Theological Review* 86, no. 4 (October 1993), 440; John F. Teahan, "A Dark and Empty Way: Thomas Merton and the Apophatic Tradition," *The Journal of Religion* 58, no. 3 (July 1978), 263–287.
6. Ivan Illich, *The Evolving Church*, Meditapes cassette, Thomas More Association, Chicago, 1973 (taped in 1971). The published version

of this talk was modified to say that examining the Church was "one reason" for examining the school: Ivan Illich, "How will we pass on Christianity?" *The Critic* (January–February 1972), 14–21. In addition to being one of Illich's favorite organizations, the Thomas More Association was a hodgepodge of liberal Catholic affairs, encompassing a bookstore, *The Critic* literary magazine (which published his controversial "The Vanishing Clergyman"), several newsletters, an art society, three book clubs, and many lecture series, presided over by the unpredictable Dan Herr, who, like Illich, propounded a mixture of traditionalism and innovation that prompted attacks from both left and right: Dan Herr, *Start Digging!*(Chicago, Ill.: Thomas More Press, 1987), 67, 113.

7. Merideth, "Ivan Illich and Cultural Revolution," 139–162.
8. Barbara Duden, "Beyond *Medical Nemesis*: The Search for Modernity's Disembodiment of 'I' and 'Thou,'" speech given at Bremen Symposium "Ivan Illich zum Abschied," February 7–8, 2003, Bremen, Germany, http://www.pudel.uni-bremen.de/pdf/Iv_tra_b.pdf.
9. Barbara Duden, "The Quest for Past Somatics," in Hoinacki and Mitcham, *The Challenges of Ivan Illich*, 220.
10. Ivan Illich, "Philosophy . . . Artifacts . . . Friendship," speech given to American Catholic Philosophical Association, Los Angeles, 2001, http://www.pudel.uni-bremen.de/pdf/Illich96PHILARPU.pdf.
11. Lee Hoinacki, "The Trajectory of Ivan Illich," *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society* 23, no. 5 (October 2003), 384.
12. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 213–215, 24; David Cayley, preface, in Illich, *The Rivers North*, xv.
13. Illich, "Missionary Poverty," in *Church, Change, and Development*, 113–116; Illich, "Mission and Midwifery," in *Church, Change, and Development*, 85; Illich, "The Eloquence of Silence," in *Celebration of Awareness*, 51.
14. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 62–63.
15. Illich, "The Seamy Side," 68.
16. Illich, "The Vanishing Clergyman," 71–73. Italics in the original.
17. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 24, 47.
18. Illich, *Deschooling Society*, 1, 104–114.
19. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 106–108, 275.
20. Hoinacki, "The Trajectory of Ivan Illich," 387.

21. Ivan Illich, "A Note on 'Custodia Oculorum' as a Subject for Fall 1990," May 9, 1990, CM.
22. Illich, *The Rivers North*, 29, 59–61. The *mysterium iniquitatis* is found in 2 Thessalonians 2.3–12 (New International Version): [3]Don't let anyone deceive you in any way, for that day will not come until the rebellion occurs and the man of lawlessness is revealed, the man doomed to destruction. [4]He will oppose and will exalt himself over everything that is called God or is worshiped, so that he sets himself up in God's temple, proclaiming himself to be God. [5]Don't you remember that when I was with you I used to tell you these things? [6]And now you know what is holding him back, so that he may be revealed at the proper time. [7]For the secret power of lawlessness [*mysterium iniquitatis*] is already at work; but the one who now holds it back will continue to do so till he is taken out of the way. As Carl Mitcham points out, Illich was not the first to present the idea that aspects of modernity were corruptions of Christianity, nor the first to apply it specifically to the Christian impact on Europe. Simone Weill and Jacques Ellul, for example, had similar ideas: Carl Mitcham, "The Challenges of This Collection," in Hoinacki and Mitcham, eds., *The Challenges of Ivan Illich*, 31. Jacques Maritain, with whom Illich studied in Rome, said, "Jean-Jacques [Rousseau] has perverted the gospel by tearing it from the supernatural order and transporting certain fundamental aspects of Christianity into the sphere of simple nature . . . What do we find at the source of modern disorder? A *naturalization* of Christianity. It is clear that the Gospel, rendered purely natural (and, therefore, absolutely debased) becomes a revolutionary ferment of extraordinary virulence." Jacques Maritain, *Three Reformers: Luther, Descartes, Rousseau* (New York: Scribner's, 1929), 142, 147–161. Illich seems to have picked up Maritain's almost visceral disgust with this corruption of Christianity and to have adopted much of the same vocabulary that Maritain employs. While Maritain expressed this view early in his intellectual career and went on to grapple with many different philosophical issues, Illich devoted the last third of his life to this idea and developed it in greater depth and specificity.
23. Illich, *The Rivers North*, 47–58.
24. The cataphatic (positive) side of these assertion was that the Church was the truly the Body of Christ and the Bride of Christ, that human

beings had been made in the image of God, and that death was part of human life, even for Christ. The crucifixion showed the utter inconsequence of bureaucracy, the glory of enfleshed humanity, and the necessity of suffering and death.

25. Illich, *The Rivers North*, 205–207.
26. Illich, *The Rivers North*, 142–145. The parable of the Good Samaritan in Luke 10 (presented here in the New International Version) was one of Illich's favorite examples of the kind of personal compassion birthed through the incarnation [30]In reply Jesus said: "A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, when he fell into the hands of robbers. They stripped him of his clothes, beat him and went away, leaving him half dead. [31]A priest happened to be going down the same road, and when he saw the man, he passed by on the other side. [32]So too, a Levite, when he came to the place and saw him, passed by on the other side. [33]But a Samaritan, as he traveled, came where the man was; and when he saw him, he took pity on him. [34]He went to him and bandaged his wounds, pouring on oil and wine. Then he put the man on his own donkey, took him to an inn and took care of him. [35]The next day he took out two silver coins and gave them to the innkeeper. 'Look after him,' he said, 'and when I return, I will reimburse you for any extra expense you may have.' [36] "Which of these three do you think was a neighbor to the man who fell into the hands of robbers?" [37]The expert in the law replied, "The one who had mercy on him." Jesus told him, "Go and do likewise."
27. Illich, *The Rivers North*, 51–54, 59–63.
28. Illich, *The Rivers North*, 59–63.

CONCLUSION

1. Second Vatican Council, "Ad Gentes," December 7, 1965, 2–5, 19–20, 26, www.vatican.va.
2. Pius XII, "Ad Ecclesiam Christi," June 29, 1955, http://multimedios.org/docs/d000022/; John XXIII, "Discorso del Santo Padre Giovanni XXIII ai cardinali, arcivescovi e vescovi partecipantie alla III riunione del Consiglio Episcopale Latino-Americano," November 15, 1958, www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/speeches/1958/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19581115_america-latina_it.html; Considine, *The Church in the*

New Latin America, 99–104; "Pope asks for more Priests for Latin American Lands," *New York Times*, February 28, 1964; Tad Szulc, "Change is noted in Latin Church," *New York Times*, February 1, 1965.

3. Prometheus is the Titan who stole fire from the gods and is punished by having his liver continuously eaten by an eagle. In the final pages of *Deschooling Society*, Illich bemoaned the "Promethean enterprise" of modern institutions, which assume that they can plan whatever they want, but in the end only create "a world of ever-rising demands" that becomes a sort of hell on earth. Illich advocated instead a return to the values of Epimetheus, Prometheus's dull brother, who, he believed represented the "hopeful trust and classical irony" that could defeat Promethean hubris: Illich, *Deschooling*, 104–114.
4. Ivan Illich, *Church, Change, and Development* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970).
5. Illich, *The Rivers North*, 194–195.
6. Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) and *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
7. Timothy Tennent, *Theology in the Context of World Christianity: How the Global Church is Influencing the Way We Think About and Discuss Theology* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2007), 9.
8. "Muslims outpace Anglicans in UK," *Times of India*, January 25, 2004, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/Muslims-outpace-Anglicans-in-UK/articleshow/444572.cms?
9. Dana Robert, "Shifting Southward: Global Christianity Since 1945," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (April 2000), 53. See also Lamin Sanneh, *The Gospel Beyond the West: Whose Religion is Christianity?* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003); Lamin Sanneh, *Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Phillip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
10. Lamin Sanneh, *Encountering the West: Christianity and the Global Cultural Process* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1993), 91, 159–183. Much of this conclusion is based on Sanneh's insights and scholarship,

including his own discussion of the Donovan, Comaroff, and Newbigin books mentioned above and below. See also Andrew Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 2002).

11. Hartch, *Missionaries of the State*, 94–100, 168–175; Ruth Chojnacki, *Indigenous Apostles: Maya Catholic Catechists Working the Word in Highland Chiapas* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010). Hundreds of similar examples may be found in Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989). John Considine asked Illich to produce something like the linguistic training program of the Wycliffe Bible Translators (also known as the Summer Institute of Linguistics), but Illich felt that the Catholic Church lacked the resources for such a program. Again, Illich's lack of interest in Wycliffe, which had been started by the penniless Cameron Townsend with almost no institutional support, betrayed his limited understanding of the missionary dynamic: Ivan Illich to John Considine, December 29, 1960, CUA 186:53.
12. "A Catholic Continent and the Christian Ideal" and "Latin America's Heritage of Catholicism," *CIF Reports* 1, no. 1 (April 1962), 18–23.
13. Of course, many of these newly urban Latin Americans turned to Pentecostalism: see Todd Hartch, *The Rebirth of Latin American Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 91–112. But surely Illich did not intend this massive exodus from the Catholic Church.
14. Vincent Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered*, 2nd ed. (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1978), 14–16, 25.
15. Lesslie Newbigin, *Foolishness to the Greeks: The Gospel and Western Culture* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1986), 1–3, 23–29, 34–41, 63, 79, 134–149.
16. Former Catholic missionaries to Latin America who criticized American culture, religion, and foreign policy include Phillip Berryman, Blase Bonpane, Thomas Melville, Marjorie Bradford Melville, Arthur Melville, Leo Mahon, and Illich's friend Lee Hoinacki. In fact, it would be difficult to come up with even a few former Catholic missionaries

to Latin America who made triumphalist assertions about the United States and its foreign policy.

17. Illich, *Ivan Illich in Conversation*, 278–280.
18. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 142.
19. Illich, *Medical Nemesis*, 145.
20. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2007), 734–743.

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Fordham University, Fordham University Library, Archives and Special Collections: Papers of Joseph Fitzpatrick, S.J.

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